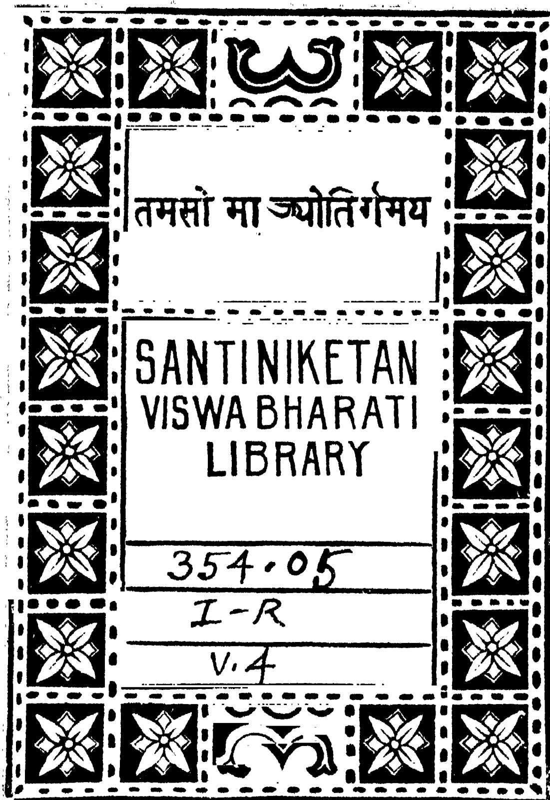

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INDIAN RECORDER

JANUARY—MARCH, 1933.

INDIAN RECORDER

JANUARY—MARCH 1933

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

INDIAN JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION,

CALCUTTA.

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APPRECIATIONS

It is a very useful and handy publication and it is calculated to be a valuable book of reference to publists, members of legislature, businessmen and students of Economics. I wish success to the difficult task undertaken. The get-up is all that could be desired.—*P. C. Ray*, Science College, Calcutta University, 9-12-32.

A reference-book on India which was badly needed, since no existing work covers quite its ground, is the *Indian Recorder*. As the name implies, this work is designed to give a summary of the chief events in India. An effort has been made to keep the summary as objective and untendencious as possible, and, so far as one has had occasion to test it, the effort seems to have succeeded. A fairly full index helps rapid use. Designed by working journalists "in the light of their daily experience," a work which gives the gist of recent Indian affairs with as little as possible superfluous padding should be welcomed by others besides journalists.—*Manchester Guardian*, 29-12-32.

........A reference book of this sort has been greatly needed, and the first issue, covering the period from April to June intends to be both thorough and impartial in their onerous task.—*Morning Post* (London) 17-11-32.

We have no doubt that if the present standard is maintained, the "Recorder" will be highly prized not only by the journalistic profession but by all who take interest in public business and public activities. Surely, there was an urgent need for a book of reference of this nature, and by removing it the Journalists' Association has justified its existence.—*Liberty*, (Calcutta), 14-12-32.

We congratulate the Association on this useful venture, so neatly carried out even in its details. Almost all those, who are responsible for this publication, are experienced journalists the stamp of whose hands is clearly perceptible on the presentation and arrangement of the contents. We are quite confident that the book will be found immensely helpful not only to the journalists but to everyone connected with public life in this country.—*Advance*, (Calcutta) 30-10-32.

"..........is a digest of news, mostly Indian, carefully arranged and duly indexed so that the publicist, the legislator or the student of affairs may get what he wants easily. In the board of editors are some of the ablest journalists in Bengal to-day and their names are a guarantee that the subsequent issues will be of the same high level as the present one. We are sure the Indian Recorder will find a place on the table of every one interested in public affairs, as an extremely useful volume for purpose of reference.—*Hindusthan Times*, (Delhi) 13-11-32.

"..........is intended to be a Reference Book helpful to publicists, members of the legislature, students, businessmen and others. The constitutional and communal issues have been presented with leading opinions on the subject; the proceedings of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and those of the Houses of Parliament in connection with India have been incorporated; the progress of the civil disobedience movement and the working of the Ordinances have been recorded; the reports of the various Committees published have been summarised; the notable law cases have been enumerated; the principal resolutions adopted in the various political conferences have been embodied; finally, a chapter has been added to deal briefly with news bearing on education, riots and crimes, terrorist movement, labour, foreign affairs, trade and industry, movements for social upliftment, proceedings under the Indian Press Act, Indianisation of the army, natural disasters, etc., etc. Multum in parvo*—*Hindu*, (Madras) 7-11-32.

The "Recorder" is a systematic and comprehensive account of all important events, touching every aspect of public life, political, administrative, social and economic etc. The arrangement of the matter leaves nothing to be desired. Within the compass of the first thirty pages, Indian and world news has been neatly compressed and recorded chronologically serving the purpose of a useful reference guide. Then follow the more important summaries of the administrative and executive affairs. The third section deals with the Legislative work in the country, and an intelligent digest, of the Assembly and Council proceedings of the various Provincial Legislatures, is given, which will have not only its use for the busy legislators, but also to the layman to catch a bird's-eye view of the general legislative progress in the country quarterly. A brief resume of the Parliamentary debates, in so far as they relate to India, next follows. The "Recorder" does not miss to note the important cases adjudicated by the High Courts and the special tribunals of the land. There are other sections equally relevant, and pertaining to the outstanding political events of the period. We need not add that councillors, public workers and journalists in the land stand to gain a good deal in possessing a copy of this volume as a reference guide for reviewing the general progress in the country. Besides, every educated

man who wishes to follow the news of the country, with delight and devoted care, will find in this volume, a welcome friend, if not a substitute for the daily newspaper.—*Free Press Journal,* (Bombay), December 7, 1932.

The "Indian Recorder" is, in our opinion, an important event in the history of Indian journalism. The task of a recorder of events is a difficult one, specially so when he has to work with limited space at his command. He has to choose not only between the important and unimportant aspects. He has to be careful neither to underrate nor to overrate. Every event must receive precisely the emphasis it deserves. It will, therefore, be no wonder if there are some critics of the Recorder who would like to have a little more here or a little less there. But it must be admitted even by the critics that the recording has been on the whole fair, impartial and comprehensive. We wish the "Indian Recorder" a long and ever-increasingly useful life.—*Mussalman,* (Calcutta), 18-11-32.

In short, in the light of their experience as journalists who have constantly to look to sundry reference books for our daily work, the editors have tried to make the publication useful by including in it the maximum of valuable information within the limits of space available. It should be in the hands of journalists, publicists, members of the legislatures, men of business, students and the educated public. A good index has increased its usefulness.—*Modern Review,* Dec., 1932.

With the increasing interest of our people in contemporary events, the handling and delineation of the recent growth and development in Indian politics has been a favourite theme not merely of publicists, journalists but also of other writers, whether journalists or not, who contribute timorously and obscurely to the newspaper and periodical press. Besides, there are thousands of aspirants to-day in India eager to follow in the footsteps of journalists. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that the Indian Journalists' Association has published this book, which is a most useful and comprehensive repertory of all the important Indian events and affords information not to be found in more pretentious and more expensive volumes. The wealth of the mass of informations, at once compact and comprehensive, can be gauzed from the fact that the volume under survey compresses within its scope a chronological diary of day-to-day Indian events of outstanding importance, Administrative and Executive Procedures, Legislative and Parliamentary proceedings, R. T. C. Committee Reports, Problem of Indian Federation, Communal question, Congress and Conferences, notable Law Cases as also all other important news of the period that it covers. In short, the volume has been very carefully and judiciously compiled and is fully abreast of all up-to-date useful information on current public affairs till the end of June last. The Index is well-arranged and exhaustive making reference to the context both simple and easy. The compilers are all well-known journalists whose personnel is a guarantee for accuracy and indispensability of the reading matter chronicled in the volume. We doubt not year by year each volume of this publication of the Indian Journalists' Association will become a more absolute necessity to all those especially journalists and public men, whose work entails an exhaustive study of different phases of Indian economic and political life from time to time. The publication deserves extensive circulation throughout the country.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika,* (Calcutta), 13th Nov., 1932.

We gladly welcome the publication of the Indian Recorder published under the auspices of the Indian Journalists' Association, Calcutta. The July-September, 1932 issue before us contains a record of topical subjects in the administrative and executive sphere, Legislature, Parliament, Round Table Conference, Committee Reports, Law Cases, etc. Resume is given of the Reforms Issue, Ottawa Agreement, Protection to Indian Textile Industry, suppression of terrorism, etc., along with authoritative opinions given to them by responsible influential bodies in the country. The publication is thus a vade mecum which will be found useful to the journalist and the politician.—*The Hindustan Review,* Patna, on 12-3-1933.

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INDIAN RECORDER

JANUARY—MARCH, 1933

CHRONOLOGICAL

JANUARY 1, 1933

Indian—Demand at All-India Women's Conference, Lucknow, for removal of legal disabilities of Hindu women. Annual Report (1932) of Indian Medical Association mentions effect of political and trade conditions on the profession. Quartering of additional police in certain villages in Bhagalpur owing to dispute between landlords and tenants. Zamorins' attitude on Temple Entry. New Year's Honours List. Dr. Datta says prison gates must be opened to secure peace in presidential address of nineteenth session of the All-Indian Christian Conference at Nagpur. Rs. 42,000 looted in daring dacoity at Dacca. Sub-Committee of the Allahabad Unity Conference adjourned till February 4.

Foreign—Improved world trade conditions predicted by London Press. Terrorist plot discovered in Spain. Earthquake shocks over wide areas in South Africa. Authoritative denial in London Press that Mahatma Gandhi and political prisoners are to be released. Display of Indian Arts and Crafts at Chicago International Exhibition.

JANUARY 2, 1933

Indian—Sixteenth Indian Economic Conference. Theistic Exhibition at Dacca. Conference of Religions at Karachi. Settlement of Madras Railway Strike breaks down. Indian Science Congress opens at Patna. Quartering of armed police in Behar villages. Release of correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Zamorin of Calicut on temple entry of Untouchables. Congress leaders state that Congress position is unchanged regarding honourable settlement with Government. Ordinance Act applied to Lahore and Amritsar districts. Home Member's statement in Assembly on general lathi charge on detenus in Deoli Detention Camp.

Foreign—Japanese occupy Shan Kaikwan. Soviet Russia's five year plan in operation. More revenue and less expenditure in British National balance sheet up to end of third quarter of Financial quarter. Stalin offers co-operation in recovery of world prosperity.

JANUARY 3, 1933

Indian—Fresh rioting reported from Alwar. Bombay Schools adopt vernacular as medium of instruction. Sikh soldiers at Kirkee relieved of arms for 12 days for shooting Capt. Thompson. Social reform including birth-control advocated at All-India Women's Conference, Lucknow. Supplementary Armoury Raid case opens at Chittagong. Meetings banned in Madras City. Rs. 28,000 of Calcutta University money robbed from durwans in day light on street.

Foreign—Forecast of continuance of gold shipments from India to Britain and United States. New National Party in Irish Free State to co-operate with Britain. Fighting reported between Chinese and Japanese troops in North China. Dissolution of Dail. Death of Ex-President Calvin Cooleridge. Hindenburgh's New Year message to Germany's Youth to unite. Fears of heavy deficit in national United States Finance owing to new taxation.

JANUARY 4, 1933

Indian—Gandhiji's appeal to Sanatanists. Calcutta arrests on Gandhi Day celebration. Clash in Alwar between State troops and Moslem peasants. Commencement of trial of Bholanath Roy Karmakar charged with attempted murder of Mr. Luke, Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi. Calcutta Municipal Office searched by Police. Economic Conference at Delhi opens presided over by Sir Fazli Hussain. Official circular issued by Calcutta University to Schools in Bengal asking authorities to arrange weekly lectures on law and order.

Foreign—Congress Indians in Transval decide not to submit statement to Asiatic Land Tenure Commission. Anti-foreign feeling in Persia. De Valera preparing for general election and Cosgrave concentrating to defeat him.

JANUARY 5, 1933

Indian—Organised resistance by Moslem peasants to State troops in Alwar. Publication of statement of Pundits on untouchability. Disorder at meeting in Calcutta organised by orthodox Hindus to protest against Legislation in favour of temple entry. Absconder in Haripur Dacoity case arrested at Cawnpore after revolver duel with police. Report of abdication of Maharaja of Alwar. Sir Samuel Hoare's statement on separation of Orissa. Bombay European Chamber of Commerce advocate legislation to protect Indian industries against foreign imports. Mahatma Gandhi reiterates his conviction that civil disobedience is the most effective weapon in the hands of a subject nation.

Foreign—Japanese Government after occupation of Shanhai-Kwan by Japanese troops attempt to settle dispute with Chinese representatives. Labour Party decides to support De Valera. Senator Borah suggests cancellation of whole system of war debts in U. S. Senate.

JANUARY 6, 1933

Indian—Charges of attempted murder framed against Bholanath Roy Karmakar in connection with the Luke shooting case. Resolutions about India's trading interests listed for meeting of Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Prasad arrested at Patna. Thomas Retrenchment Report published. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru reviews results of Third Round Table Conference. Absconders in different political cases arrested in Calcutta. Gurkha troops arrive at Malda. Cost of reception of 300 soldiers at Jamurki to be realised from villagers. 4,355 persons arrested for civil disobedience in Bombay following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

Foreign—India's industrial outlook specially attracting foreign capital discussed by London Financial papers. Senator Borah (U. S. A.) criticizes policy of India adopting the gold bullion standard. China demands with-

drawal of Japanese troops from Shanhaikwan. British Legation's warning to Chinese and Japanese authorities not to jeopardise British interests in Northern China. Unemployment mass demonstration in New York at which police were severely handled.

JANUARY 7, 1933

Indian—Mr. H. W. Emerson succeeds Sir G. De Montmorency as Governor of the Punjab. Arms concealed in flour and vegetables discovered in raid on a house in Calcutta when six people were arrested. Bengal Government issue a statement on the firing at Adina where Sonthals occupied a mosque. Annual dinner of the Mining and Geological Institute of India. Railway Standing Finance Committee approve of a capital expenditure of Rs. 9¼ crores during 1933-34. Mr. Justice Panckridge and Mr. Justice Pearson discharge rule calling on Mr. H. G. Franks, Editor, Star of India, to show cause for contempt of Court. Gold exports from India total Rs. 1,058,331,168. Bomb explosion near Jumma Musjid at Delhi wound two brothers. Appeal for funds for Deshbandhu Memorial at Burning Ghat, Kalighat, Calcutta.

Foreign—Plans for flight over Everest complete. Mr. De Valera opens his campaign in Dublin. Election manifesto by Irish Labour Party pledging itself to economic and political independence.

JANUARY 8, 1933

Indian—Bombay Government states that immediate savings recommended by Thomas Re-organisation Committee are impossible. Three resolutions tabled in Assembly for interview with Gandhiji with a view to his release. Jayakar-Sapru statement on Third Round Table Conference. Two thousand ex-rebels in Alwar attempt to rescue Meos. British troops ordered to Alwar. Communal rioting in Bombay. Number of searches at Jamalpur for arms and ammunition. 200 villagers surround police party (who fire on them) at Khamarbari.

Foreign—Royal Air Force attempt to set up a new long distance flight record to take place between February 5-12. Persian Minister of Justice declares that cancellation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., concession is an internal matter not to be discussed by League of Nations.

JANUARY 9, 1933

Indian—Government's intervention sought by Railway Union to end M. & S. M. strike. Mr. M. S. Aney appointed President of Indian National Congress. Forty-eight political prisoners released from Patna Camp Jail. Professor Kripalani's trial concluded and judgment reserved. H. E. Governor of Bengal opens proceedings of the Conference of Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta. Diptimedha Choudhury, absconder in Armoury Raid case, arrested at Chittagong. 49th. Memorial meeting of Keshub Chunder Sen held at Albert Hall, Calcutta. Railway Board agree to meet Railwaymen's Federation representatives to discuss questions relating to workers. All-Parties Hindu Conference at the British Indian Association. Calcutta repudiates Poona Pact.

Foreign—Stalin states Soviet Russia is faced with war on account of Five Year Plan. Japan preparing big drive against Jehol. Japan threatens to withdraw from League of Nations. Spanish revolt spreading.

JANUARY 10, 1933

Indian—Committee appointed by Bengal Government for preparing future electoral rolls. Soldier attacked in Dacca by two youths who escaped.

Sir George Schuster stresses great industrial development of India at the Indian Institute of Economics in Calcutta. End of strike of M. and S. M. Railway workshop. Constitution of Federation of Employers Association approved of by Associated Chambers of Commerce. Government's half-hearted development of Indian industries criticised by Mr. Walchand Hirachand, President of Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce. Kalipada Mukherji's execution stayed on sister's appeal for mercy to Viceroy.

Foreign—Number injured in disturbances at a Cosgrave Party meeting in Dublin. Big increase in grain market prices following large purchases for the Far East. Abortive rising by anarchists quelled in Barcelona. Furious Nazi—Communist clash in Berlin. British delegate at International Labour Conference opposes 40-hours week convention. Heavy deficit in French Budget to be met by reducing expenditure and increasing taxes.

JANUARY 11, 1933

Indian—Alleged assault on a soldier in the Dacca University Central Building. Sir Edward Benthall states at Associated Chambers of Commerce meeting that commerce and industry had reached a stage which necessitated reduction of taxes. Suggestion by Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce to Government of India to impose import duty on rice and rice products in view of slump of prices. Date for collecting collective fine amounting to Rs. 80,000 extended in Chittagong. 1,700 Mukhtears of Bengal and Assam apply to High Court of Calcutta for permission to plead in Mofussil Civil Courts. Gandhi films banned by Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Charges framed in Begut Armed Dacoity case.

Foreign—Speaking at Geneva Sir Frederick Leith-Ross declared that Britain would co-operate and bring about an international gold standard, but that the initiative lay with the gold standard countries. Japanese advance on the Sino-Manchurian frontier inside the Great Wall. China's Note to European Powers protesting against Japanese aggression.

JANUARY 12, 1933

Indian—Brigadier Lake explains at a Conference in Alwar that Imperial troops would restore law and order in the disturbed areas. All-parties Hindu Conference in Calcutta condemn Poona Pact and ask the Premier to recall his acceptance of the arrangement in regard to Bengal. Opening ceremony of wireless beam service between India and Japan performed at Bombay by Sir Frank Noyce. Prodyot Kumar Bhattacharjee, convicted of murder of Mr. Douglas, executed in Midnapore Central Jail. Important delegates to Round Table Conference invited to confer with Viceroy. Restraint notice issued on Dr. F. Ansari.

Foreign—British and Dutch interests come to an agreement regarding tea restriction. President Hoover in message to Congress appeals for closer control of the trade in arms.

JANUARY 13, 1933

Indian—Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta demand more adequate police protection in jute growing areas of Bengal. Dr. Moonje announces postponement of observance of Alwar Day. Judgment delivered in Motihari conspiracy appeal—the accused acquitted. Findings of Railway Wages Board published. Loss of 13 lbs. reported in weight of Subhas Bose. Wholesale searches in Barisal. *Ananda Bazar Patrika* Security forfeited and fresh security demanded.

Foreign—Text issued of Bill to establish a rubber cess in Britain for development of scientific and industrial research. Madrid rebels blown up by Civil Guards. Members of House of Commons receive letters from constituents to support Mr. Churchill's views on India Reforms. 240 candidates for and against the Treaty to contest the Irish Free State election.

JANUARY 14, 1933

Indian—Buddhist mission from Rangoon proceed on a twelve year expedition to Europe. Arms and loot recovered from Meo villages in Alwar State. Two Bulandshahr students on trial at Lucknow for the attempted murder of Guard Nully of E. I. R. Mr. H. Brown, Jute mill Manager, assaulted by millhands mob at Barrackpore. Several arrests and convictions of Congress Volunteers at Motihari.

Foreign—British Indian and Dutch committees reach an agreement on regulation of tea exports. Prime Minister urges settling war debts to relieve world economic distress in bye-election message. Mr. W. T. Cosgrave's pledge to Irish farmers to remit land annuities if returned to office. Boycott of Japanese goods by China. Manchester Cotton Trade League passes resolution that Lancashire goods must be given preference in India.

JANUARY 15, 1933

Indian—Forty prominent Congress men arrested at Lucknow at a special sitting of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee. Government decide to allow Subhas Bose to proceed to Europe for treatment. Five hundred homeless immigrants make a demonstration in Calcutta. Report on C. P. Debt Conciliation Bill published. Second Chamber for Bihar resolution moved in Council.

Foreign—Manchester traders meeting to take steps to secure protection against Japanese competition. Turkish Government loan of Rs. 12,000,000 Turkish pounds for railway construction. President Hoover rejects Philippine Independence Bill. President Hoover instructs American ambassadors to urge League of Nations to expedite action against Japan in accordance with its Covenant.

JANUARY 16, 1933

Indian—Habeas Corpus application of Jogendra Chander Roy, political detenu, rejected by Calcutta High Court. H. E. Bengal Governor's address at Midnapur on suppression of terrorism. Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill referred to Select Committee. Judgment on Meerut Conspiracy Case delivered by Sessions Judge of Meerut convicting all except three accused.

Foreign—French Cabinet crisis develops. Japan refuses to admit discussion of Manchukuo regime by League of Nations. Japanese non-aggression pact with Soviet under consideration.

JANUARY 17, 1933

Indian—Resolutions on future India constitution passed at special session of non-Brahmin Conference at Poona. Premier of Nepal addressing Katmandu Students says Nepal's greatest need is technical and industrial education. Sind Mohomedan Association presents welcome address to Governor of Bombay. Evidence of police raid on a house at Chandernagore at the hearing of the Supplementary Raid Case at Chittagong. Unveiling by Governor of Bengal of memorial to late Mr. James Peddie at Midnapore.

Foreign—Mr. Cosgrave informs audience at Dublin that his policy was to remain inside the British Commonwealth of Nations. Defeat of French Government likely as result of M. Cheron's Budget proposals. Communist armies in China intimate their conditional readiness to ally themselves with Government troops. De Valera insists on complete independence for Ireland in election speech.

JANUARY 18, 1933

Indian—Normal conditions returning as a result of presence of Imperial troops in Alwar. Lowest temperature (48°) of year recorded at Alipore. Importance of co-operative movement in solving many of India's problems stressed by Sir Daniel Hamilton at Rotary Club Lunch in Calcutta. Issue of 4 per cent. Bonds redeemable in 1943, issue price being Rs. 98 per cent. payable in cash on Treasury Bill, notified.

Foreign—Maryness of Clyesdale will probably make his attempted Everest flight early in March. Bill providing for introduction of a 50 per cent quota in Cotton goods imported into Holland likely to be introduced at the Dutch Parliament. Dundee jute industry feeling the effect of competition with Indian-made articles. Lord Sankey refers at the East India Association to achievements of the Third Round Table Conference.

JANUARY 19, 1933

Indian—Mr. G. B. Shaw regrets inability to accept Rabindranath Tagore's invitation to spend a few days at Santineketan. Ajmere Muslims demand independent enquiry into firing on agriculturalists. Babu Rajendra Prasad, acting President, Congress, sentenced to 15 months rigorous imprisonment. Inauguration by Maharaja of Darbhanga of Bihar United Party. Retrocession of Bangalore negatived by Government of India. Passport to Kenya refused to Dr. Alam.

Foreign—Alleged communist plot unearthed at Tokio. U. S. A. Senate override Mr. Hoover's veto on Phillippine Bill which became law. Record flight from France to S. America in 4¼ days by French aeroplane Arceucil. 380 Chinese Volunteers frozen to death on Mount Takushan on Korean Border. Colonial Office statement on the recent discovery of gold in Kenya.

JANUARY 20, 1933

Indian—Motion in favour of Second Chamber in Central Provinces lost in Council. Thirty-six estates on sale in Noakhali for default of payment of revenue. Several Chittagong youngmen bound down. Two out of three accused convicted of red leaflets distribution acquitted by Calcutta High Court. Public meeting at Albert Hall, Calcutta, protesting against Meerut case judgment.

Foreign—Prominent British citizens write to Manchester Guardian to release Mahatmaji. Railways write to British Premier urging adoption of Salter Report. Recommendations of preparatory Committee for World Economic Conference published. South African pound linked to sterling by statute.

JANUARY 21, 1933

Indian—Memorandum submitted by Bengal National Chamber of Commerce to Government on economic condition of Bengal. Leave granted by Calcutta University to Sir C. V. Raman to accept appointment as Director of

Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. Permission granted by Government to 107 detenus to sit for University examinations.

Foreign—Premier of Korea bombed at railway station in Shanghai. Twenty-four hours' ultimatum given to Japan by League of Nations. De Valera's manifesto on eve of election upholding abolition of oath of allegiance and retention of land revenue.

JANUARY 22, 1933

Indian:—Gandhiji proposes another referendum on the Guruvayoor question. Statement by Mr. N. M. Joshi on Third Round Table Conference. Lord Willingdon refuses sanction to Dr. Subbaroyan's Temple Entry Bill in Madras Council and permits introduction in Assembly of Mr. Ranga Iyer's Untouchability Abolition Bill. Sir Brojendra Mitter to be Leader of the Assembly during ensuing session. Extensive police searches of houses in Calcutta.

Foreign:—Publication of Persian Oil Dispute Memorandum charging Britain with breach of international law. Riots in Berlin on occasion of big Nazi rally. India League delegation to Lord Sankey urging policy of creative generosity.

JANUARY 23, 1933

Indian:—Resolution to constitute Berar into a separate Province passed in C. P. Council. Bombay Cotton Exchange closed after opening owing to arrest of pickets. Gandhiji regrets Viceroy's refusal to allow consideration of Madras Temple Entry Bill. Sensational find of 11 revolver cartridges in a Gaya village. Serious report of condition of hunger-strikers in Rajamundry jail. Indian Jute Mills Association annual meeting.

Foreign:—Points on Manchurian questions tabled for discussion by League of Nations. Retraction of charge of sensational criminal assault on two white girls by seven Negroes at Alabama. Manchuria to form integral part of China resolved by League of Nations.

JANUARY 24, 1933

Indian:—Rule issued by Calcutta High Court on *Ananda Bazar Patrika* appeal against forfeiture of security ordered by Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. Ban on meetings and proceedings promulgated in Hooghly District. Alleged assault of student of Dacca University by soldier. Opening of Delhi Swadeshi Exhibition. Jayakar-Sapru Conference with Viceroy to invite Princes into Federal Scheme. Standing Finance Committee sanction Rs. 1,90,000 for Round Table Conference cost. Dr. J. N. Maitra's motion on Congress flag hoisting on Calcutta Corporation Building disallowed for want of proper notice.

Foreign:—Policy of clean slate in regard to War Debts urged by British Chancellor. Stock Brokers' strike follows proposal to abolish Bearer Bonds in France. De Valera tops poll in election in Ireland.

JANUARY 25, 1933

Indian:—Escape of Motihari conspiracy case convict while being transferred to another jail. Lahore clash between police and dacoits in which 2 men were killed. Lighted crackers thrown in Madras Council Chamber, while in session. Forty eight arrests in and outside Bengal in connection with find of unlicensed arms and ammunition. Charges framed in Chittagong supplementary Armoury Raid case.

Foreign:—Suggestion by Manchester Chamber of Commerce to use political weapon to scale down Indian Cotton duties. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald invited to be President of World Economic Conference. Celebration in London of De Valera's election success. Ford Factories closed owing to wage reduction.

JANUARY 26, 1933

Indian:—Bombay cotton market deadlock ends. Appeal of *Free Press Journal* against forfeiture of security dismissed by Bombay High Court. Gandhiji appeals to Sanatanists to join him. All accused convicted to death and transportation sentences in communal rioting case in Mirzapur acquitted on appeal. Numerous arrests all over the country on celebration of Independence Day. Police fire on crowd on Badanganj intent on hoisting national flag. Gandhi films banned in Behar and Orissa.

Foreign:—Persian Oil Dispute case opened before Council of League of Nations. French Cabinet resigns over enhancement of tax. Constitutional issue as to whether Governor is representative of King raised in Ceylon Council.

JANUARY 27, 1933

Indian:—Government report on use of vernacular as medium of instruction. Sir Cowasji's views on Reserve Bank. Seven seats reserved for Moslems in Dacca Municipality. All-Burma Anti-separation League cable to British Premier against convening another Burma Conference. Two hundred soldiers sent to Meherpur and Tehatta in Nadia District.

Foreign:—Anglo-American Debt relations discussed in London. German Cabinet resigns. 150,000 workers down tools in Denmark following wage cut. Herr Hitler's election as Germany's Chancellor places Nazis in power.

JANUARY 28, 1933

Indian—First Calcutta Health Welfare Week held at University Institute. Deputation from the Indian Medical Association met Member-in-charge in New Delhi in connection with Indian Medical Council Bill. Kalipada Mukerjee sentenced to death by Special Tribunal and his appeal for mercy.

Foreign:—President Albert Leburn accepts French Premiership. League of Nations uphold Lytton Report on Manchuria. Persia rejects arbitration proposal on Anglo-Persian oil dispute.

JANUARY 29, 1933

Indian—Thirty-one Congress volunteers arrested at Allahabad, while holding a meeting. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya states that Congress annual session will be held in March.

Foreign—Hitler deprives Hindenburgh of dictatorial powers. Ulster Railway strike begin. Lancashire complains of impurity in tenderable quantity of Indian cotton. Unprecedented increase of deposit in five principal British Banks.

JANUARY 30, 1933

Indian—Finance Member states that Government is pledged not to continue salary cut beyond March 1933 without examining economic condi-

tion. Extensive searches for arms and arrest in various places. Bombay Government propose tax on sale of tobacco.

Foreign—Deputation from Manchester Chamber of Commerce waits on Secretary of State to discuss cotton goods export to India. Argentine Commercial Mission to England to be welcomed by Royalty.

JANUARY 31, 1933

Indian—Calcutta High Court uphold conviction of Watson Outrage case accused. Government of India instruct Bihar Government to show in latter's financial estimates for 1933-34 separate figures for Orissa and Bihar. One man killed as result of bomb explosion in a room in Lahore.

Foreign—Provisional agreement reached regarding Anglo-Persian Oil Dispute. Large number of Japanese troops entrain for Jehol. Hilter's Four-Year Plan announced.

FEBRUARY 1, 1933

Indian—Tribunal sentence Bholanath Karmakar, accused in Luke shooting case, to seven years transportation. Dr. B. N. Dey appointed Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation. Viceroy surveys political situation in opening winter session at New Delhi of the Assembly. Gandhiji against circulation of Temple Entry Bill. All Indian Congress Leaders' meeting at Nagpur postponed. Sessions Judge, Lahore, rejects revision petitions of three Lahore Congressmen that Special Powers Ordinance had expired when they were convicted.

Foreign—Clash between Chinese and Japanese troops near Great Wall. Mr. Roosevelt and Senator Hall reported to have drafted scheme for world wide lowering of tariff walls in exchange for remittance of war debts. German Parliament dissolved and General election fixed for 5th March.

FEBRUARY 2, 1933

Indian—Bengal Government publish communique on Badanganj firing. Burmese leaders discuss Burma's future with Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya at Benares. Bombay mills closing down affect 20,000 workers. Rule issued by Calcutta High Court staying realisation of fine from sureties of Miss Kalpana Dutt. Indian Conciliation Group urge in London Press release of Gandhiji and political prisoners. Annual meeting of Bombay Branch of European Association.

Foreign—Conciliation efforts regarding Sino-Japanece dispute. Mr. Walter Runciman of Board of Trade predicts expansion of Britain's trade with India. Chancellor Hitler asks Central Party to pass an Act empowering Government to carry on measures without reference to President Hindenburg. Italy accepts invitation of United States to discusss war debts in March.

FEBRUARY 3, 1933

Indian—Delhi Conspiracy case abandoned by Government after 21 months. Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah gives notice of a Bill to lift ban on depressed classes on the use of roads and wells. Five per cent. restora-

tion of salary cut. Subhas Bose permitted to proceed to Vienna for treatment. Disastrous fire in Bombay renders 350 people homeless. Governor of Bengal justifies Secretary of State's policy at Calcutta European Association dinner.

Foreign—British Cabinet consider proposals of Royal Commission on road-rail competition. Soviet Spring Plan includes cultivation of cereals in State farms covering 95,000,000 hectares. British trade funds rose to highest points for three months. League of Nations Enquiry Commission recommend international co-operation to combat traffic in women and children in the East.

FEBRUARY 4, 1933

Indian—Calcutta Corporation's successful campaign against small pox epidemic. Warning of prosecution to parents of children in Bombay who do not attend compulsory schools. Dr. Syed Masood's plea for national education in address at Commemoration Day celebrations at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. Prominent British public men urge caution in respect of policy of Federation with reference to Jam Saheb's statement in Chamber of Princes in March 1931. Four per cent. drop and good state of crop recorded in the first wheat forecast of 1932-33. Detachment of Gurkha Rifles arrive at Noakhali. Views of Indian Chamber of Commerce on rail-road competition communicated to Government. Calcutta Health Exhibition opens at Indian Museum Building.

Foreign—Prospects of new trade agreement between Argentine and Britain. Big increase reported of exports of Lancashire cotton piece goods. Vote of confidence passed by the French Chamber of Deputies on Government. League of Nations approve Anglo-Persian oil dispute settlement. Berlin representative of Ex-Kaiser states that he will not return to Germany unless summoned by the people.

FEBRUARY 5, 1933

Indian—Statement by Indian members of Assembly supporting resolution passed in Burma Council for Burma's self determination. Governor's speech in opening budget session of Bombay Council. President disallows adjournment in Assembly to censure Government for restoring fifty per cent. of salary cut without consulting Assembly. 42 lakhs deficit in finances of Port of Calcutta. Appointment by Bengal Government of Jute Enquiry Committee. Home Member's statement in Assembly in answer to questions that no political prisoners will be released till civil disobedience is in operation. Mitchell-Kirkness report on rail-road competition published. Bengal Flying Club's fourth anniversary celebrated at Dum Dum.

Foreign—Huge London Labour demonstration at Hyde Park in protest of wage cut. Dutch East Indies naval meeting. League of Nations Committee reach unanimous agreement on the question of Manchukuo. No likelihood of increase in Germany's demand for jute until economic depression passes off.

FEBRUARY 6, 1933

Indian—Bombay Government's decision to reimpose tolls on all provincial roads. Burmese Anti-Separationists' cable to Sir Samuel Hoare demand-

ing acceptance of Burma Council's resolution. Appointment of Committee by Calcutta University to consider establishment of University agricultural college. Publication in Bombay Gazette of Bill to amend the law relating to whipping in Bombay Presidency to permit whipping for hooliganism. Children's Bill and Auxiliary Force Bill passed in Central Assembly.

Foreign—Dissolution of the Prussian Diet following an emergent decree which squashed the verdict of the Leipzig Supreme Court. Increase in Britain's unemployed figures. President De Valera to move resolution in the Dail to abolish oath of allegiance. Mr. V. J. Patel's great reception in America as spokesman of India's cause for freedom.

FEBRUARY 7, 1933

Indian—Budget estimates of Bihar and Orissa presented in Council anticipating more revenue. Big shrinkage in Calcutta Corporation's finances disclosed in Budget estimates. Motion in Assembly to raise again South Indian Infantry Battalions withdrawn after spirited discussion. Sir Samuel Hoare states in House of Commons that Government will place before Parliament their full proposals for constitutional reform. Mrs. Gandhi sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine. Home Member states in Assembly that 75 prisoners were sent to Andamans and that terrorist prisoners are liable to be sent there.

Foreign—French Budget plans to cut down expenditure and raise taxation. World's non-stop flight record beaten by Britain Royal Air Force monoplane piloted by Messrs. Gayford and Nicoletts. Resolution moved in House of Commons expressing grave concern at the decline of the export of piecegoods from Lancashire and urging Government to take steps to improve the situation.

FEBRUARY 8, 1933

Indian—Bengal Governor's message read out by Minister for Education on future of European education at Teachers' Conference in Calcutta. Protest of Calcutta Motor trade against operation of motor transport by railways. Dooars Planters' Association at annual general meeting approve of preferential tariff for Empire teas. Bombay Government's recognition of rights of depressed classes. Allocation scheme for seats in New Bihar Council.

Foreign—British War Debts delegation headed by Prime Minister to go to United States to discuss settlement. Large increase of buyers at British Industries Fair, specially in Indian section. Working alliance suggested between German Socialists and Communists to combat Fascism.

FEBRUARY 9, 1933

Indian—Governor's address at Jorhat appreciating Assam's adherence to law and order and promising full autonomy to the Province. Notice served on Dacca residents to report to nearest police station names of male members of families between the age of 14 and 35. Important changes made by Select Committee in Bengal Money Lender's Bill. 35 lakhs deficit disclosed in Bombay Budget. The Sykes Bridge at Gidhad over the Tapti River opened by Bombay Governor.

Foreign—Japan ask for clear-cut answer to League of Nations' decision on present regime at Manchukuo. Herr Hitler's first public oration to 10,000 Nazis pledging himself to rebuild Germany. In House of Lords debate on India Reform Conservative section insist that precedent of the Anglo-Irish Treaty should not be followed. Mutiny on Dutch warship and surrender of rebels after killing three Europeans and injuring twenty five.

FEBRUARY 10, 1933

Indian—Special Tribunal sentences one accused to death and one to transportation and acquits third in Chittagong Supplementary Raid case. European group in Assembly support Mr. Mody's resolution for protection of indigenous industries against dumping. Everest climbers arrive at Bombay. Retrenchment demand in Burma Council.

Foreign—Gasometer and Petrol explosion cause terrific havoc and casualties in Cologne. Macedonia proclaims autonomy. British Cabinet formulate views on War Debts for Washington deputation. Meerut Prisoners' Release Committee formed in London. Gravity of North China situation foreshadows bloody conflict at or near Jehol.

FEBRUARY 11, 1933

Indian—Select Committee on Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill recommend its duration to three years. Chittagong residents promised immunity on giving information about harbouring terrorist absconders. Afghanistan's finance re-organised by Italian expert. Revision of Premier's Communal Award in Bihar and Orissa hinted at by Chief Secretary. Move by two Assembly Members to repeal Sarda Act. Anti-Malaria Campaign at a cost of Rs. 20,000 in Burdwan district announced by Bengal Governor.

Foreign—Disaffection in Dutch Navy. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald announces in House of Commons the trend of coming discussions on World Trade with the United States Government. Death of Field Marshall Sir William Robertson. League of Nations endorses Lytton Report. President Roosevelt shot at during a reception by the Mayor of Chicago. Malta and Ceylon unable to give effect to Ottawa Agreement.

FEBRUARY 12, 1933

Indian—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar disapproves of Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's Temple Entry Bill. Official move in Assembly for reference of Medical Council Bill to Select Committee. Sir Samuel Hoare states that Gandhiji and political prisoners will not be released till civil disobedience is dead. Indian Constitutional Reforms criticised by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Labour delegate to R. T. C. Bengal scheme for rice research with a view to recapture export trade.

Foreign—Irish rail outrages gravely affect Ulster authorities. Economies effect saving of £2,680,000 on London and Midland Railway. House of Commons reject motion of Mr. Lansbury to censure Government for failure to deal with unemployment. Italy's indignation over strong Franco-British note on allegation of big consignment of arms sent from Italian factory to Austria.

FEBRUARY 13, 1933

Indian—Select Committee's report on Workmen's Compensation Act Amendment Bill presented to Assembly. Dacca Municipality accepts reservation of seats for the major community. Gandhiji's reply to Dr. Ambedkar on latter's hostility to Temple Entry Bill. Bombay Government's action to save 18 lakhs on Thomas retrenchment recommendations. Railway Board's report shows Rail Reserve Fund wiped out. Government policy about Burma's separation outlined by Secretary of State.

Foreign—Mr. Hoover urges restoration of international gold standard in his Lincoln Day address at the National Republican Club. Jehol claimed for Manchukuo by Japan. President, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, states that Japan's lower standard of living is a menace to Lancashire trade.

FEBRUARY 14, 1933

Indian—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru criticises Sir Samuel Hoare's attitude on release of Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders. Mr. Mahomed Azhar Ali's resolution in Assembly on the appointment of a Committee to remove grievances among discharged and disabled soldiers withdrawn after assurances of Army Secretary. Grant of Rs. 12,000 by Calcutta Corporation to combat malaria. Deputation to Viceroy of depressed class leaders on the subject of Temple Entry Bill. Demand in Council for protection of Burma rice by Burma Chamber of Commerce representative.

Foreign—Hostilities take place between Columbia and Peru. Financial crisis in Michigan leads to 8-day Bank closure. Coalition move in South Africa. China appeals for a war loan of 20,000,000 dollars. German political circles surprised by the Anglo-French militant gesture in regard to Austria. Conservative India Committee decide to make a demonstration against policy of India Government.

FEBRUARY 15, 1933

Indian—Kalipada Mukherjee condemned to death for murder of Special Magistrate, Munshigunj, executed in Dacca Central Jail. Sir George Schuster moves in Assembly the appointment of Select Committee to amend Income Tax Bill. Government issues communique on the correspondence between Viceroy and Mahatma preceeding the launching of civil disobedience. Sir Manekji Dadabhoy elected as first non-official President of Council of State. Estimated C. P. Budget figures not realised. Railway Budget in Assembly discloses loss of 934 lakhs.

Foreign—Protectorates and Crown colonies invited to accept preferences of Ottawa Agreement. Government's defeat in House of Lords on private motion to abolish Ministry of Transport. League of Nations' effort to reach a settlement of the Sino-Japanese dispute.

FEBRUARY 16, 1933

Indian—Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya urges withdrawal of Temple Entry Bill. Bengal Chamber of Commerce's letter to other Chambers to strengthen commercial representation on Calcutta Corporation. Communique

by Alwar State denying rumours of abdication of Maharaja. Arrest of Surya Sen, alleged terrorist leader, at Gairala near Chittagong. Plea for extension of hospital accommodation in Calcutta by Minister for Self-Government. Estimated exportable surplus of 3,450,000 tons of Burma rice.

Foreign—Japan rejects provisions of Lytton Report on Sino-Japanese dispute. House of Commons rejects motion to censure Government for its failure to deal with unemployment. United States Senate accepts resolution for repeal of prohibition. Mr. Roosevelt, President-elect of United States, shot at by in Miami, Florida.

FEBRUARY 17, 1933

Indian—Public Meeting in Senate Hall, Calcutta, to commemorate centenary of death of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Rs. 27 lakhs deficit in Bombay Budget. Restoration of salary cut criticised in Council of State. No agreement of Alwar deadlock over Capt. Ibbotson's recall.

Foreign—Colonisation scheme for settling Indians in other countries put forward in South Africa Assembly by Minister for the Interior. Ultimatum by Japanese Commander to Chinese Commander to evacuate Jehol immediately. Gross receipts of British grouped railways decline by £15,000,000. Agreement between General Hartzog and General Smuts to form a Coalition Government for South Africa.

FEBRUARY 18, 1933

Indian—Tariff Board takes evidence at New Delhi on silk Industry protection. Moslem solidarity resolutions passed at a meeting of the Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference at New Delhi. Motion for amendment of Tenancy Act rejected by Bengal Council. I. C. S. Officers deputed to take charge of Alwar State administration, with British official as Prime Minister.

Foreign—200,000 Japanese and Chinese troops concentrated on Manchuria border. British Note to Austria in connection with discovery of large number of rifles and machine guns sent from Italy. Sir Samuel Hoare explains Alwar situation in House of Commons. Demand in South Africa for Indian fruits.

FEBRUARY 19, 1933

Indian—Criticism of Indian Tariff Policy by Chairman of Calcutta Import Trade Association at annual general meeting. Non-Official protest against resolution of cut in salaries in Council of State. Government's intention to introduce a Bill for the continuance of Cotton protection for extension till October. Bengal Legislative Council accepts motion for adequate representation of Bengal at the Joint Select Committee. Motion for abolition of Railway Board in Assembly.

Foreign—Fighting in Far East begins with a clash between Japanese and Chinese troops at Chaoyanghee in Jehol. British Industries Fair opened by Prince of Wales. Anti-Red measures in Germany. League of Nations attitude on exports of munitions to the Far East. Austro-Italian contraband arms incident closed by statement in House of Commons.

FEBRUARY 20, 1933

Indian—Deficit of Rs. 1,37,49,000 at close of 1932-33 in Bengal Budget revenue. Resolutions tabled in Assembly on measures to counteract Japanese dumping. Bengal's Budget deficit estimated at 195 lakhs for 1933-34.

Foreign—Under-Secretary of States for India examined on India Reforms at private meeting of Conservative India Committee. Japan ready for a big offensive in Jehol. Soviet Russia urged to arm against foreign aggression by President of Defence Council.

FEBRUARY 21, 1933

Indian—Bengal Government's grants for relief of defaulting estates. Proposed deputation of hosiery manufacturers to Commerce Member. Deputation of sugar candy manufacturers urge protection to Commerce Member at New Delhi. Jute Working hours agreement suggested at the annual general meeting of the Indian Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta.

Foreign—Opposition to Reforms of Conservatives expressed in motion in House of Commons against central responsibility. Oil producing countries except Russia meet in London to reduce production. Japan's reply to League of Nations Report on Manchuria. Herr Von Papen declares at meeting of Nationalist students in Berlin that Communism must be crushed at any cost.

FEBRUARY 22, 1933

Indian—Deputation of Agra Province Zemindars urge on Viceroy at New Delhi special reserved representation in Central and Provincial Councils. Railway cuts in Budget negatived in Assembly. Bengal Legislative Council refer Money-Lenders Bill for reconsideration to Select Committee.

Foreign—Japanese attack in Jehol Battle repulsed by Chinese. House of Commons reject Sir Henry Page-Croft's resolution that central responsibility is inexpedient. Split in Hitler-Hindenburgh coalition hinted at in German Press. Japanese Ambassador instructed from Tokyo not to move troops South of Great Wall of China unless provoked.

FEBRUARY 23, 1933

Indian—Memorandum by All-Parties Hindu Conference of Calcutta to Prime Minister demanding revision of Poona Pact. Assembly negatives abolition of Railway Board. Indian States Committee appointed to examine White Paper with reference to federal finance. Views of Bengal Chamber of Commerce at annual General Meeting on commercial safeguards.

Foreign—Serious view of arms embargo in the Far East taken by Japan. League of Nations approve French plan of standardisation of armies. Assurance by Under Secretary of State in House of Commons of full restoration of salary cut of Imperial Services.

FEBRUARY 24, 1933

Indian—Examination by Tariff Board at Calcutta of Bengal representatives of the silk industry. Surplus of 62¾ lakhs in Madras Budget. 45 lakhs better revenue in Punjab Budget. Inadequate position of Moslems on Railways stressed in Assembly. No objection of Government to discussion in Assembly of White Paper.

Foreign—Key positions captured by Japanese in rapid advance to Jehol. Debate in House of Commons gives Sir Samuel Hoare the opportunity to say that law and order was established in India. Announcement in House of Commons of Appointment of Royal Commission to examine financial condition of Newfoundland.

FEBRUARY 25, 1933

Indian—The annual general meeting of Moslem Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta draws attention to the community's commercial rights. Government's ban on Congress session raised in Assembly. Two lakhs deficit in C. P. Budget.

Foreign—Chinese driven back from Jehol and cities destroyed by Japanese. U. S. Bank crisis leads to moratorium. German scholarships for Indian students in Germany.

FEBRUARY 26, 1933

Indian—No secession right of Burma reiterated in Burma Council by Finance Member. Viceroy assures Sanatanists deputation at New Delhi that religious customs will be respected. Rabindranath Tagore's lecture in Senate Hall, Calcutta University on extra-academic system of education among masses.

Foreign—Crisis in Norway brings about formation of Radical Cabinet. Conversion of New Zealand's national debt to a 4 per cent. basis. World's gold output in 1932 (£ 98,848,074) the largest on record. Statement of Japanese Embassy on Japan's withdrawal from League of Nations.

FEBRUARY 27, 1933

Indian—Restoration of salary cut criticised in Bengal Council. Supplementary railway grants voted in Assembly. Anti-Separation resolution carried in Burma Council. Governor's speech in Council on restoration of law and order. Improved credit of India and budget stability established claimed by Sir George Schuster in Budget statement.

Foreign—Anglo-American talks in Washington on world economic recovery. British embargo on arms export to Far East. Chinese stand along Lingguan line against Japanese advance. Nazi atrocities in Berlin vouched for by Socialist Press in Germany. U. S. Government notify League of Nations that America refuses to join in any coercive measures against Japan.

FEBRUARY 28, 1933

Indian—Protest against salt tax in Bengal Council. Introduction of Finance Bill in Assembly involving changes in customs tariff. Home Member defends Government's ban on Congress in Assembly. Higher import duties announced by Finance Member. No departure from normal procedure in respect of Untouchability Bills.

Foreign—Drastic decree by Hitler against communism. Chinese retreat and Japanese occupation of several important points. Emergency legislation in America controlling Bank deposits. Mr. V. J. Patel invited by the Indo-British Independent League to visit Dublin. Radical Ministry formed for Norway.

MARCH 1, 1933

Indian—Estimated deficit of Rs. 70,000 in 1933-34 in Bombay Port Trust Budget. At sixth half-yearly meeting of All-India Railwaymens' Federation in New Delhi discussion on M. & S. M. dispute refused by Railway Board. Waziri Lashkar in Khost suffer another reverse. Export tax on gold proposed in Assembly during Budget debate.

Foreign—Mr. Churchill's views on India Reform repudiated by Central Council of National Union of Conservative Associations. Huge reservoir over the Euphrates to be constructed by British firm at a cost of £ 1,000,000. Bill for removal of Oath of Allegiance passed in the Dail.

MARCH 2, 1933

Indian—Punjab Budget surplus declared "paper surplus" during discussion in Council. Appeal for funds made at Annual meeting of Bengal League of Social Service for women. Third reading of Tobacco Duty Bill passed in Bombay Council. Karachi Chamber of Commerce protest at Budget proposals. Congress Committee's explanation of change of date of Congress session in Calcutta.

Foreign—Tidal wave causes terrible loss of life and damage on the north coast of Japan. Chinese beat off Japanese advance on Jehol in rearguard action. Decree establishing virtually martial law in Germany signed by President Hindenburgh to combat communism. Over £ 4,500,000 lying in the Land Annuities Account with the Irish Free State which were withheld from Britain to be used for agricultural grants.

MARCH 3, 1933

Indian—Meeting at New Delhi of members of Council of State and Assembly to consider Formation of All-India non-communal organisation. Annual meeting of Bengal National Chamber of Commerce suggest national movement for economic recovery. Advance party of Everest Expedition leaves Darjeeling. Mahsud and Wazir tribesmen move into Afghanistan.

Foreign—Japanese troops occupy Jehol City. British Premier to attend Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Approximately £400,000,000 (at par) involved in banking holidays proclaimed in U. S. United States financial crisis created by heavy withdrawals from Federal Banks. American Senate amends the Cotton Control Bill.

MARCH 4, 1933

Indian—Motion in Assembly raising the question of dumping of goods in India withdrawn on assurance of Commerce Member that the matter was

being considered by Government. All-India Muslim Conference in New Delhi fail to agree on unity question. Life of the Assembly indefinitely extended. Press reports of early release of Mahatma Gandhi.

Foreign—Embargo imposed on export of gold and silver from United States. Nazis triumph in German elections. Japanese reach Great Wall of China. Encouraging enquiries about India foodstaffs at British Industries Fair.

MARCH 5, 1933

Indian—Estimated deficit of 30 lakhs in Assam Budget. Home Member's admission in Assembly that representations urging the restriction of passage concessions for officers to British ships had been made. Cut motion raising the question of retrenchment and Indianisation of services in Assembly withdrawn on Home Member's assurance that future salaries should be based on Indian conditions.

Foreign—Banks to re-open following United States emergency finance measures. Statement in House of Commons that Joint Select Committee will be composed by Easter. British Premier starts for Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Enthusiastic reception at Washington of President Roosevelt.

MARCH 6, 1933

Indian—Bill to regulate rents of houses in Bombay published. Dharra Khel rebels attack Afghan troops near Khost. Mr. S. Chetty to be elected President of Assembly. Motion for a token cut in Army estimates on issue of Indianisation carried in Assembly. Assam Opium (Amendment) Bill 1932 and Assam Excise (Amendment) Bill 1932 passed.

Foreign—Issue of script in New York State. Japan quits the League of Nations. Soviet Government decline invitation to join Advisory Committee of League of Nations. United States embargo on gold and silver exports and ban on hoarding of coins and currency. Nazis' success in German elections.

MARCH 7, 1933

Indian—Council of State pass resolution asking for representation on Joint Select Committee. Discussion of expenses of British troops sent to Alwar in Assembly. Demand for stronger Air Force in India made in Assembly and question to be referred to Committee of Imperial Defence. Warning by Governor of N. W. Frontier Province to British Border tribesmen against assisting local insurrection in Afghanistan. Fewer strikes in British India in 1932.

Foreign—U. S. Currency expansion proposals. French attitude on Disarmament proposals not hopeful. Irish Land relief announced. Austrian crisis leads to ban on newspapers.

MARCH 8, 1933

Indian—Labour welfare censure motion in Assembly lost. Elaborate agenda for next annual meeting of Chamber of Princes. More troops sent to Waziristan to prevent flow of tribesmen from British territory into Afghanistan. French Commissioner of Police at Chandernagore shot at by armed Bengalis, two of whom escaped. Madras Branch of European Association opposed to dyarchy in any form in new constitution. Debate on position of landlords in New Constitution in Assembly brings official assurance that their interests will be safeguarded.

Foreign—U. S. proposal to revive silver as step to world trade recovery. Demand for enquiry into administration of Suez Canal made by Sir Arnold Wilson. Nazis in power in Bavaria. Positive policy for raising wholesale prices debated in House of Commons.

MARCH 9, 1933

Indian—Viceroy opens Mandi Hydro-Electric scheme at Lahore. Question of sending a deputation to England considered by Council of Indian National Liberal Federation in Bombay. British Cabinet approve of White Paper. India Budget demands sanctioned by Assembly. United Provinces Legislative Council vote nearly 2 crores for education.

Foreign—Restriction of building programme in British Navy estimates. Earthquake and tidal wave cause havoc in California. Statement by Dominion Secretary in House of Commons that the British Government could not acquiese in Irish Free State proposal that Land Annuity money hitherto retained should be used to finance normal exchequer requirements.

MARCH 10, 1933

Indian—Unanimous recommendations for reform of Jute Futures market in Calcutta made by Committee. Shooting in Haripur Central Jail justified by District Magistrate of Hazara. Rebel attack on Afghan Fort unsuccessful. .Differences of rival groups in Moslem League composed.

Foreign—Successive Chinese defeats predict near end of war. German Jews terrorised by Nazis. Reign of terror in Bavaria owing to Nazi intolerance. Drastic economy measures and currency control in United States. Competition between Spanish paddy and Burma rice in United Kingdom market. Cotton prices rise in response to increased demand for piecegoods in New York.

MARCH 11, 1933

Indian—Steps for Indianisation of Army announced in Assembly. Five official Bills passed by Bengal Legislative Council. Home Member's explanation in Assembly of two Moslem villagers' death by shooting by military at Chittagong. Finance Bill passed in Assembly. Moslem opposition to amend local self Government Bill in Bengal Council.

Foreign—Four Britons arrested in Moscow during raid on Metropolitan-Vickers office. Disquieting situation in Europe owing to provocative action by Nazis in Rhineland. Closing period for Banks extended and gold embargo to remain in United States. British artificial silk trade menaced by Japanese competition.

MARCH 12, 1933

Indian—Poona discussions about Congress and civil disobedience. Success of policy of fighting terrorism in Bengal announced in Bengal Council. Resolution in Bengal Council condemning as unacceptable of Poona pact by Bengal Hindus. End of strife desired by Government was Bombay Governor's plea in speech at dinner by Council members.

Foreign—Socialists removed from city posts by Nazis in Berlin. Sabotage charges against four British employees of Metropolitan Vickers firm in Moscow. Banks re-open in United States. Uneasiness in France at militant state of Nazis. Difficulties of Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

MARCH 13, 1933

Indian—Modification of excise policy announced in Bengal Legislative Council. Bengal Government's refusal to sanction State lotteries to finance Calcutta hospitals. Opposition demand in Assembly for embargo on Gold exports negatived. 30,000 tuberculosis victims in Calcutta. Reduction of Assam Minister's salaries voted down in Council. Bengal Government urged to take action on drainage menace to Calcutta.

Foreign—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's five-year plan for reduction of armament examined at Disarmament Conference. Big Nazi demonstration at Berlin. Britain's Air weakness stressed in introducing Air Estimates in House of Commons. Thirty five revolutionaries shot in Soviet Russia.

MARCH 14, 1933

Indian—New taxes on pan and 'bidi' negatived in Bengal Legislative Council. Position of Indian representatives on Joint Select Committee explained in House of Commons. Increased representation of Princes in Central Legislature demanded. Motion for reduction of salt duty negatived in Assembly. Congress Reception Committee declared unlawful.

Foreign—Strong protest by Britain against arrest of four British employees of Metropolitan Vickers in Moscow. Japanese troops preparing advance across China's Great Wall. American move for control of wheat production of world. President Roosevelt's economy plans passed in Senate despite strong opposition by Democratic caucus.

MARCH 15, 1933

Indian—Questionnaire issued by the Jute Enquiry Committee published. British character of administration the main factor in the new constitution insisted on by Bombay Governor at annual meeting of Bombay Chamber of Commerce. Proposed representation of minorities on railways.

Foreign—Reduction of acreage of basic commodities in United States. House of Commons pass British Naval Estimates. Trial of 4 British employees of Metropolitan Vickers to take place in Moscow. United States to participate in Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Occupation by Nazi "Storm" troops of Khey, Speyer and Cologne carefully considered in British Cabinet.

MARCH 16, 1933

Indian—State aid for tea industry and crop regulation voiced at annual general meeting of Indian Tea Assaciation in Calcutta. No funds available for establishing Assam University. Publication in England and India of White Paper. Princes' seats allocation in Federal Assembly to form the subject of important meeting of Princes Chamber.

Foreign—British Premier visits Signor Mussolini in Rome to discuss disarmament. Emergency Decree Provisions for German taxation relief. Britain's Air weakness causes serious misgivings during discussion of Air Estimates in House of Commons. British Government remove the embargo on exportation of arms to China and Japan.

MARCH 17, 1933

Indian—Prominent Indian leaders view White Paper proposals with alarm. No reduction in Bengal Executive Council. Objects and reasons of Ottawa Trade Agreement Act Amendment Bill published. Trial shipment

of Indian bananas to Britain. Minimum education service test prescribed in Assam. Twelve members from Parliament to comprise Joint Select Committee.

Foreign—General approval of White Paper in British Press. Italian scheme to secure world peace. Anti-Jewish excesses in Polish towns by Poles. Wider powers for Hitler and complete Nazi sway in Germany. Five year plan of world disarmament at Disarmament Conference.

MARCH 18, 1933

Indian—Direct relations of Indian States with Government announced in communique. Acceptance of Federal Scheme urged on Princes by Viceroy in opening twelfth session of Chamber of Princes in New Delhi. Orissa Province boundaries declared in communique. Several arrests made in Calcutta following plot to blow up buildings. Bihar Council debate treatment of political prisoners.

Foreign—Statement in House of Commons on two alternatives for Burma. Meeting in London to harmonise Franco-British economic policy. Italian scheme to secure world peace discussed in Rome between Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Signor Mussolini.

MARCH 19, 1933

Indian—Third reading of Indian Cotton Industry Protection Bill and extension of protection till October passed in Assembly. Protest in Assembly against "lack of courtesy" on the part of Government in answering questions. Demand in Assam Council for two representatives on Joint Select Committee.

Foreign—French readiness to support Italian scheme of disarmament. Strong protests made in Britain against arrest of British employees of Metropolitan Vickers in Russia.

MARCH 20, 1933

Indian—Madras Liberal League dissatisfied with White Paper. Bill extending operation of wheat export duty for another year passed in Assembly. Communal bias in educational policy denied by Minister of Education in Bengal Council. Calcutta Corporation Budget passed.

Foreign—Trade negotiations between Britain and Soviet suspended. Joint meeting of Conservative Party discuss White Paper. Agreement between world producers to restrict tea crops from April 1.

MARCH 21, 1933

Indian—Increased duty on imported films intended as a revenue measure. Princes' Ministers advice Princes to join Federation. Two crores demand for Police passed in Bengal Council. No reduction in postal rates adopted in Assembly. Forest Amendment Bill passed in Assam Council. Assembly passes against strong opposition second reading of Salt Additional Duty Bill.

Foreign—Conservative Indian Defence Committee re-iterate opposition to abdication of powers in centre and Labour Party disapprove of White Paper proposals. Statement in House of Commons by Sir Samuel Hoare that no undertakings trading in India are subsidised by India Government. Three year plan to aid British shipping presented to British Cabinet.

MARCH 22, 1933

Indian—Assam Council members condemn White Paper. Move to strengthen Nationalist Party in Assembly. Indian Chamber of Commerce submit memorial to Bengal Governor for plan to help economic development of Bengal. Rupnarain Bridge on B. N. Railway opened.

Foreign—Increasing Tory resistance to White Paper. Dictatorial Powers assumed by Hitler Cabinet in Germany. Soviet agree to release British prisoner charged with sabotage on bail. Britain's Budget revenue below estimates.

MARCH 23, 1933

Indian—Cotton Textile Industry Protection Bill and Wheat Import Duty Bill passed by Council of State. Bombay and Madras Councils attack White Paper. Mr. Ranga Iyer's Temple Entry Bill held up till next session of Assembly owing to inconclusive debate on motion for circulation. Select Committee recommend extension of powers for railways.

Foreign—Parliamentary Liberal Party support White Paper. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald states results of his conversations on disarmament in Geneva in House of Commons and emphasizes need for revision of peace treaties.

MARCH 24, 1933

Indian—Wider powers given to police under Bengal Public Security Act, 1932, to combat subversive movements. 31,388 railwaymen discharged owing to retrenchment. Jam Sahib's outburst against intervention of Viceroy at opening of plenary session of Chamber of Princes in New Delhi, when safeguards for Princes were suggested. Salt Import Duty Bill passed by Assembly. Bengal Governor's denouncement of terrorism in Calcutta University Convocation address.

Foreign—Arrests of Socialists in Germany. Question of trade barriers contemplated by United States Government. Reichstag passes Empowering Bill to root out communism.

MARCH 25, 1933

Indian—Policy of higher University education defended in Bengal Council. Council of State declares White Paper inadequate. Everest flight tests held up by weather conditions. Sub-Inspector Makhan Lall Dikshit shot dead in Chittagong by unknown persons.

Foreign—In opening debate in House of Commons on White Paper Sir Samuel Hoare states that no change will be made that will weaken Britain's control. Expulsion orders on Indian bankers in Saigon.

MARCH 26, 1933

Indian—Amendments to Finance Bill reducing income tax rate accepted in Assembly. Inadequacy of medical grant stressed in Bengal Council. Government's plan for expansion of educational facilities for depressed classes mentioned in communique.

Foreign—Jewish boycott of German goods in retaliation to Nazi anti-Jewish measures. Japan leaves League of Nations. British Arms convention plan accepted by Disarmament Conference.

MARCH 27, 1933

Indian—Demand for grant for agricultural research passed in Assembly. Indian Finance Bill passed. Waziri casualities include 500 killed in Khost insurrection. Bengal Government's scheme for relief of Bhadralog unemployed by industrial training.

Foreign—Imperial Airways machine crashes in flames near Dixmude between Cologne and Croydon. Conservatives attack White Paper as unworkable in debate in House of Commons. Oil control agreement in danger owing to Roumania's threat to renounce restrictive scheme. Labour Party insist on India's right to full self Government in White Paper debate in House of Commons.

MARCH 28, 1933

Indian—Assembly debate on White Paper expresses strong disapproval. Congress delegates to Calcutta session arrested at Lahore. Bombay Legislative Council not to be dissolved this year in view of coming reforms. Salt Duty Bill passed in Council of State.

Foreign—Under Secretary of State justifies White Paper proposals in House of Commons debate as leading to ultimate political responsibility. Boycott of Jews officially announced by Nazi Government. Anglo-American discussions on currency and exchange at Washington.

MARCH 29, 1933

Indian—Women's success at Calcutta Corporations elections. 400 congressmen arrested in Calcutta on eve of Congress session. Agreement between Hindu, Sikh and Moslem communities for modification of Communal Award in Punjab. Publication of official Bill to amend Calcutta Municipal Act.

Foreign—House of Commons by big majority support White Paper. Four Britons kidnapped by Chinese pirates. Millions perish from famine in Russia. Basis of new trade agreement between Britain and Argentine reached.

MARCH 30, 1933

Indian—Select Committee amendments to Bill to suppress immoral traffic in Bengal discussed in Council. Important agricultural schemes for

fruit research and sugarcane to be started in Bihar and the United Provinces. Maharaja of Alwar's concessions to subjects.

Foreign—More fighting in Far East between Japanese and Chinese. U. S. Senate pass Bill establishing £ 100,000,000 Fund for unemployed. Tea Restriction Ordinance passed in Ceylon.

MARCH 31, 1933

Indian—Council of State pass Finance Bill. Minister's statement in Bengal Council on reasons for further amending the Calcutta Municipal Act. Sir A. Rahim's motion condemning White Paper carried in Assembly. Restriction on over-production of coal in Bengal urged at annual meeting of Indian Mining Federation.

Foreign—£ 3,300,000 Budget deficit in Britain. "War" on Jews inaugurated by Nazis in Germany. Statement in House of Commons on position of British Jews in Germany.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

GANDHI-WILLINGDON PEACE TALKS.

ON his return on December 28, 1931 from the Second Round Table Conference before the All-India Congress Working Committee passed a resolution tentatively planning civil disobedience Mahatma Gandhi wired to H. E. the Viceroy asking for an interview. Subsequent correspondence followed (prior to Mahatmaji's arrest) and an official communique was issued which sought to place the responsibility for the sudden breaking off of peace negotiations on Congress. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar issued the following statement dated 18th February 1933 to the Press on the subject:—

The Government communique recently issued, gives what may be called an expurgated account of the Gandhi-Willingdon correspondence*, suppressing some very relevant passages. This has led Anglo-Indian papers to say to their readers that the Congress version of the story is a crude falsehood.

Mahatmaji returned from the R. T. C. and landing at Bombay on the 28th December 1931 found the rule of repression and ordinances in the Frontier, U. P. and Bengal when he expected to organise peace and bring about a settlement of the political question. He, therefore, sent at once a telegram to the Viceroy asking for an interview to discuss matters. The Government communique gives Gandhiji's telegram of 29th December, which shows how eager and earnest he was for co-operation. In reply to this the Viceroy intimated that Gandhiji could see him only if he agreed not to discuss ordinances or repressive measures. Gandhiji was told that if he wished to discuss these matters, the Viceroy could not receive him. This peremptory condition precedent to a discussion which he so anxiously sought was tantamount to refusing the interview. This part of the Viceroy's telegram of the 31st December is suppressed in the Government communique.

Gandhiji wired on 1st January pleading, once more, in the most entreating terms, the injustice of refusing an opportunity to discuss the repressive measures and ordinances, and complaining that, while he had approached the Viceroy in the friendliest spirit seeking to understand Government version of the very serious and extraordinary measures taken at a time when the truce was in force, His Excellency had rejected his advance and placed an impossible condition for the interview. Gandhiji explained in the telegram, what he had heard from his fellow-workers with reference to Congress activities in the Frontier and U. P. and added that he was anxious to understand Government side, so that he might tender suitable advice to the Congress. "If it is not yet too late," he said, "I would ask His Excellency to reconsider his decision and see me as friend without imposing any conditions whatsoever as to the scope or subject for discussion, and I on my part can promise I will study with an open mind the facts that His Excellency might put before me. I would unhesitatingly and willingly go to the respective provinces and with the aid of the authorities study both sides of the question. If I came to the conclusion, after such a study, that people were in the wrong and that the Working Committee was misled

* These correspondences appeared on p 256 of the Vol. I (April-June 1932) of "Indian Recorder."

and that the Government was right, I should have no hesitation, whatsoever, in making that open confession, and guiding Congress accordingly."

All this is suppressed in the Government's communique. It may be part of the bureaucratic creed that no popular leader may dare question the correctness of Government decision or claim to study both sides on terms of equality, but the world or the public of India cannot accept such a

One circumstance may be exploited to cloud the issue. The resolution of the Working Committee in regard to Civil Disobedience was passed, though provisionally, before the reply was received to Gandhiji's renewed request for an interview. To this, however, the answer is that the nature of the Viceroy's first reply and uncontradicted reports led Gandhiji to believe he would be arrested at once and that he would have no further opportunity to guide the public or the Working Committee. The resolution was, therefore, tentatively adopted. But it must be perfectly clear to everyone that, if the Viceroy had replied to Gandhiji that he would receive and allow him to discuss the measures Government had taken which were contrary prima facie to the spirit and express terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and therefore were at least legitimate subject-matter for discussion, the resolution would have taken a different course.

The public may judge on these facts whether the claim of the Government and the Anglo-Indian papers is right, that the Viceroy was perfectly willing to see Gandhiji on his return from the R. T. C., but the Working Committee's programme made it impossible. We would have no objection to the republication of the entire correspondence. Indeed, we would welcome it. But suppression of just the relevant passages is not fair.

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

CONGRESS VOLUNTEERS ARRESTED

From the 1st January 1933 upto the 5th of January 81 satyagrahis were arrested in Champaran district. On the 2nd two Congress volunteers were arrested at Motihari while distributing Congress bulletins and other such papers and seven volunteers were arrested while marching in a procession. They all were taken to a place two miles off from the town and were let off. On the 3rd 8 volunteers were again arrested at Motihari while demonstrating in the Court of S. D. O. They were sent to jail.

There was very strong police guard in the town on account of the Congress activities from the 28th of December, but on the 4th of January the town was much more guarded from the very morning and Sub-Inspectors of Police and Inspectors were seen patrolling the streets of the town. A Congress procession was taken out and six Congress volunteers were arrested. A meeting was held within the premises of the criminal court and Mr. Mohan Sinha was arrested while reading the proclamation along with two volunteers. At Dhaka and Raxaul also Congress processions were out on the 4th January and one Satyagrahi was arrested at the latter place.

At Bettiah there was a general round up of Congress volunteers and workers on the 4th January including the District Congress Dictator, Jainarain Prasad 36 workers and volunteers were arrested on the same date. Eight of them were set off and others sent to jail.

At Piprahia in Jagapatti thana 16 volunteers were arrested in a procession but 5 of them were let off afterwards.

Two arrests were made at Bettiah on the 5th January and thus the total number of arrests reached 81 in the district within four days only.

Civil Disobedience Convictions.

A comparative statement dated February 1st giving the total number of convicted persons (under the ordinary law and under the Ordinances)

undergoing imprisonment at the end of November and December shows considerable decrease for all the provinces and for British India as a whole. The following are the figures, province by province for November and December, respectively.

Madras 1,415, and 1,112.
Bombay 4,376 and 3,937.
Bengal 2,300, and 1,933.
United Provinces 3,373, and 3,016.
Punjab 460 and 358.
Bihar & Orissa 2,206 and 1,781.
Central Provinces 408 and 311.
Assam 384 and 357.
North-West Frontier Province, 1,950 and 1,742.
Delhi 154 and 145.
Coorg 69 and 80.
Ajmer Merwara 60 and 43.

The total number of persons released on apology in all the provinces upto the end of December is 6,764 and they are distributed as follows : Madras 63, Bombay 83; Bengal 124; United Provinces 114, Punjab 1, Bihar and Orissa 262, Central Provinces, 76, Assam 219, North-West Frontier Province 2,744; Delhi 46, Coorg 17, and Ajmer Merwara 15.

In the Punjab Legislative Council replying to Mr. Sajjankumar Choudhury, Sir Henry Craik Finance Member, stated that the total number of persons imprisoned in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement in 1932 was 1,697 and none apologised.

Replying to a further question the Finance Member said that the total number of persons still confined in jails. in the same connection was 293, of whom 177 were Hindus, 47 Muslims and 69 Sikhs.

MRS. GANDHI CONVICTED

On February 7th Mrs. Gandhi was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or in default six weeks further by the First Class Magistrate of Borsad. She was recommcded to be placed in "A" class.

The same Magistrate convicted 6 other ladies to 18 months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 each or in default 6 months' further. All of them were placed in "C" class.

They were charged with leading a procession of about hundred women shouting Congress slogans in furtherance of the programme of Borsad Congress Committee which had been declared unlawful.

INDEPENDENCE DAY ARRESTS

Altogether nearly 300 Congress workers including about 69 ladies were taken under police custody in Calcutta and Howrah for taking part in celebration of the national festival on the 26th January. Out of the above number of 300 persons, the Maidan demonstrations alone accounted for the arrest of about 200, 30 in front of the Corporation Office, 30 in Southern Calcutta, 20 in North Calcutta and 25 at Howrah.

Similar arrests were made in Delhi, Madras, Ajmere, Calicut, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares, Bombay, Dacca and Jalpaiguri.

BADANGANJ FIRING

The following communique was issued on February 9th by the Government of Bengal in connection with Badanganj Firing:—

The attention of Government has been drawn to reports regarding the rioting at village Badanganj in the Arambagh sub-division of the Hooghly district on the 26th January 1933, in which the police had to open fire. The facts briefly are as follows:—

An order under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure was promulgated forbidding processions on 26th January, "Independence Day." At about 3 p.m. on the 26th which was also a 'hat' day, three persons were found leading a procession of about 70 others, most of whom were strangers to Badanganj, from the west side of the village, beating drums, shouting

the Congress slogans and displaying a flag. As the procession went up to the 'hat,' the crowd increased in numbers. Some declared that the flag should be hoisted at the 'hat' while some others would have it hoisted on the police Beat House which was near-by. Attracted by the shouts, an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police with some constables came up, seized the flag and arrested the three leaders of the procession. As the Assistant Sub-Inspector proceeded to take the arrested persons to the Beat House, a threatening crowd followed him refusing to listen to the President of the Union Board who requested them to disperse. When the Assistant Sub-Inspector reached the Post Office. which is about 20 yards from the Beat House, a Sub-Inspector with some constables came up from the Beat House to intercept the mob. The Sub-Inspector repeatedly asked the crowd to disperse but with no effect. The Sub-Inspector then ordered lathi charges to disperse the excited mob. At this stage brick bats, of which there was a plentiful supply in the ruins of a temple near-by, began to be pelted at the police by the crowd, causing injuries to the Police officers and several of their men and when the police found themselves in imminent danger of being over-powered, the Sub-Inspector after due warning ordered firing to be opened at the crowd. Altogether 16 rounds including two revolver shots were fired, resulting in injuries to four persons so far as known to the local authorities. The firing was aimed low as was evident from the nature of the injuries. It is also a significant fact that the injuries were mostly in the front parts of the bodies of the injured persons. First aid was given promptly to the injured persons by the police who had themselves sustained injuries. The injured persons had been removed to hospital for treatment.

POLITICALS IN AMRAOTI JAIL

In connection with the report of the Amraoti Jail Inquiry, about which the Home Member was asked questions in the Council, it was understood on February 6th that the Inspector-General of Prisons Colonel Powell, had taken the whole responsibility about the alleged ill-treatment of civil disobedience prisoners there and exonerated the Jail Superintendent Mr. Harvey of any responsibility in that matter.

The Central Provinces Government on February 9th formed a committee to deal with problems in connection with Civil Disobedience prisoners in C. P. and Berar. The personnel of the committee includes Mr. E. Gordon, I. C. S., Chief Secretary, C. P. Government, Lt.-Col. Powell, Inspector-General of Prisons, Lt.-Col. Khan of Jubbalpore and Mr. Stent, Deputy Commissioner, Amraoti. Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, I. C. S., Under-Secretary, C. P. Government will act as Secretary of the Committee.

The report of the Committee, appointed to enquire into alleged ill-treatment of Civil Disobedience prisoners in Amraoti Jail in April 1932, published on February 22 said that Civil Disobedience prisoners were in a state of mutiny on the 21st April 1932, and on the morning of 22nd April 1932, some of the prisoners were kept locked in their barracks and assaulted by warders, while others were not supplied food and water. The report adds that the incident was a well planned campaign against Civil Disobedience prisoners with a view to subjugate them. It recommends that Civil Disobedience prisoners should be treated in a different way from ordinary criminals.

CENTRAL PROVINCES GOVERNMENT'S ORDER

Hon'ble Mr. G. J. Jaiswal, the Minister of the Local Self-Government of C. P. issued an order on February 9th asking the Jubbulpore Municipal Committee not to appoint any such man who had been convicted for participating in the civil disobedience movement, in any capacity. The order

further ran that if any such appointments had been made by the Committee, they should have been dismissed at once, failing which the Hon'ble Minister would take the necessary steps.

SITUATION IN BOMBAY

His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, the Governor of Bombay, addressing the Bombay Corps of St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas on the occasion of the annual inspection of the Brigade and prize distribution said,

"The renewal of Civil Disobedience Movement although it did not produce as serious disturbances as its predecessor still provided some opportunities for you to display efficiency of your training and readiness with which you always come to the assistance of your afflicted fellow citizens in such circumstances. This time, however, Civil Disobedience Movement was dealt with, I am glad to say, with comparative ease and disturbance which it brought about soon ceased to have any serious effect upon the city."

ATTACHMENT BY SEIZURE ILLEGAL

Mr. Justice Panckridge and Mr. Justice Patterson, Calcutta High Court, accepted on February 22nd the reference made by the Sessions Judge of Khulna and ordered release from attachment of certain movable properties seized in satisfaction of the fine of Rs. 500 imposed on Nani Gopal Roy, convicted by a magistrate under Sec. 117 I. P. C. in connexion with the Civil Disobedience movement. In the properties which were subjected to attachment by seizure, the offender Roy had only an undivided fractional share, while Pramatha Bhusan Roy and 4 others, all brothers of that convicted man, were jointly interested in them. These brothers applied to the District Magistrate of Khulna for release of the attachment of the properties but that application was rejected. The judge then referred the matter to the High Court.

Their lordships held that the property in which an offender had only a fractional share was not liable to be attached by seizure. Accordingly the order of the magistrate rejecting the petition of the five brothers was set aside and the properties seized would be released from attachment. This decision, their lordships added, should not be taken as indicating that they held that it was not possible under Sec. 386 (a) of the Cr. P. Code to attach an undivided share of movable properties by some other method.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST CONGRESS SESSION.

CONGRESS RECEPTION COMMITTEE BANNED

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, as amended by the Devolution Act of 1920, the Governor-in-Council declared on March 16 the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress an unlawful association, as in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council, the Association had for its object interference with the administration of law and the maintenance of law and order, and as it constituted a danger to the public peace.

PROHIBITIONS UNDER BENGAL PUBLIC SECURITY ACT, 1932

All the provisions of Chapters II and III of the Bengal Public Security Act, 1932, were enforced in Calcutta and its suburbs on March 25th by a "Calcutta Gazette" Extraordinary notification, 'as the Governor in Council was satisfied that by reason of a movement subversive of law and order a state of emergency had arisen of such a kind that the existing powers of Government were inadequate for the maintenance of the public security in that area.'

The said provisions have also been extended to the following areas:—
The Sadar subdivision of the Howrah district.
The Sadar subdivision of the 24-Parganas district.
The Asansol subdivision of the Burdwan district.
The Ranaghat subdivision of the Nadia district.
The Jhargram subdivision of the Midnapore district.
The Serajganj subdivision of the Pabna district.
The Rajbari subdivision of the Faridpur district.
The Sadar subdivision of the Khulna district.
The Sadar subdivision of the Dinajpur district.
The district of Bankura.

Power to make arrests

All Magistrates and civil police officers not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector or Sergeant have been authorised to make and direct arrests under sub-section 1 of section 3 of the said Act.

The Commissioner of Police of Calcutta and the District Magistrates of Howrah, 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Nadia, Pabna, Faridpur, Dinajpur, Khulna and Bankura have been invested with the powers of the local Government under sub-section 1 of section 4 of the said Act.

MALAVIYAJI RESTRAINED

The District Magistrate of Benares wrote to Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya on March 28 informing him that if the latter proceeded to Calcutta to preside over the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress he would not be allowed to attend it.

ROUND UP OF CONGRESS LEADERS

Early on Thursday morning (March 30) the Calcutta Police made many arrests in connection with the Fortyseventh Session of the Congress.

Dr. M. Alam, the Congress leader from Lahore, who was in Calcutta to undergo a further course of treatment, was arrested and taken to the Central Jail.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN CONVICTED

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and Panchanan Ghosh were sentenced to 3 months R. I. each on 22nd March for being the Chairman and the General Secretary respectively of the Reception Committee (declared unlawful) of the 47th session of the Indian National Congress to be held in Calcutta.

DR. SANYAL GETS 6 MONTHS' R. I.

Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D., Second Chairman, and Sjs. Manindra Nath Bhattacherjee of the Abhoy Ashram of Nawabgunj, and Harasunder Chakravarty, a Post-Graduate student, the Second and Third General Secretary respectively of the Congress Reception Committee (declared unlawful) were each sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and and placed in Division II by the Hon'ble S. K. Sinha, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, on March 28.

Sj. Suresh Chandra Mazumdar, described as the third chairman of the Reception Committee of the 47th session of the Congress was arrested. Sj. Benoy Bose, General Secretary, was also arrested.

Sreejukta Urmilla Devi who had been lying ill in bed was arrested and taken to the Central Jail.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Acting Congress President, who was proceeding to Calcutta on 30th March by Bombay B. N. Ry. Mail to attend the 47th session of the Indian National Congress announced to be held in Calcutta on March 31 and April 1, was arrested at the Kharagpur Railway Station. It is believed that the arrest was effected under the Public Security Act.

Animated scenes were witnessed on April 1st afternoon at Esplanade Calcutta, when what was described as the 47th session of the Indian National Congress was held, under the presidentship of Sjta. Nellie Sen Gupta.

Elaborate precautions were taken by the police to foil the holding of the session. The city was practically filled with policemen; the parks were all closed; close vigilance was kept on all possible shelters of the "delegates;" the leaders were all arrested; the "President-elect." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Mr. Aney, Dr. Alam, Dr. Syed Mahmud were kept in custody.

Sjta. Sen-Gupta was arrested and escorted by Mr. Robertson along with Sj. Gopika Bilas Sen and other prominent members of the Reception Committee in a car to Lall Bazar.

About 250 Arrested

One after another people came forward on the improvised dais and began reading the resolutions and delivering speeches. Each of them was dealt with by the police, pulled down and dragged away.

The police were moving briskly in the whole area, and arrested many persons, the number being about 250 including 40 ladies. The rest of the assembly of about 500 men were dispersed.

The All-Bengal Students' Association (declared illegal) held a meeting of about 150 students including several ladies, many of whom were arrested near Chowringhee junction while proceeding to join the Congress at Esplanade.

A crowd of about 200 people made a move to hold another meeting near the Ochterlony monument. These people came out of the Eden Gardens by its south gate. When they approached the monument, the police rushed in, and arrested about 25 men dispersing the rest with lathi charges.

Another meeting of about 200 men was held at Chitpore Road. The police came to the scene and after arresting the president and delegates numbering about 115 including 12 ladies, dispersed the crowd.

ORDINANCES IN OPERATION

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD

BABU Rajendra Prasad, while coming out of the Bankipore Jail gate after attending Prof. Kriplani's trial was arrested on January 6th at the Jail gate. The arrest, it is reported, was made under Sec. 17(1) and (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. He was produced before the Sub-Divisional Officer, Sader, and remanded to custody till January 19. He was lodged in Bankipore Jail.

Jnananjan Neogi

Sj. Jnananjan Neogi, Health Publicity officer of the Calcutta Corporation, was arrested on January 6th under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act at his residence at Raja Dinendra Street.

Subash Bose Leaves for Europe

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Bombay on February 23rd by the Calcutta Mail escorted by Police officials from Jubbulpore and accompanied by a Doctor and nephew Amiya Bose. A large crowd was present at the Victoria Terminus. None were allowed to speak to Sj. Bose. Immediately on arrival of the train the police made a cordon round him and C. I. D. officers arranged for urgent removal of Sj. Bose in an Ambulance Car to the wharf. Sj. Bose was removed on a stretcher to the ship and was told that he would be a free man only when the steamer left at midday.

Just when the ship was about to move, an order was served on Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose by a police officer who was keeping watch on him to the effcet that the Government of India had withdrawn the order under Regulation 3 of 1818 under which he was arrested and incarcerated thirteen months ago. The order was to take effect from the midnight of the 23rd and 24th February, though as a matter of fact Sj. Bose became a free man only twelve hours later, that is after the midday of February 23.

Though Sj. Subhas Bose sailed alone he will have the advantage of a fellow Bengali country man Dr. Sailen Sen who would be looking after him during the voyage.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Dr. B. V. Sathe, two leading Doctors of Bombay wanted to examine Sj. Bose but were not allowed to see him.

It is understood that in reply to enquiries by the relatives of Sj. Bose the Government of India had telegraphed to them that interviews were subject to the approval of the Government of Bombay.

The Government having refused to allow interviews without police surveilliance Sj. Bose in his turn refused to see three of his nearest relatives. They however, managed to go into the cabin, exchanged a few words and then bade him farewell.

Sj. Bose's Statement

Prior to his sailing for Europe Sj. Subhas Bose made the following statement dated February 23 exclusively to "Free Press":—

"The public are aware that though the responsibility for the present condition of my health falls entirely on the Government, they have refused to arrange for my treatment in Europe at Government expense, while they also refused to allow my friends and relatives to take charge of my treatment in India.

"In view of the financial troubles through which my relatives have been passing for over a year, due primarily to the incarceration of my elder brother, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, it would have been impossible for me to accept the offer of the Government. But some of my friends and well-wishers have voluntarily taken upon themselves the responsibility of finding funds necessary for my stay and treatment in Europe and have made it possible for me to go out to Europe in search of health.

"It is yet too early for me to say whether I shall be able to recover my former health. But whatever the future may have in store for me, I heartily thank all those who have made it possible for me to leave for Europe.

"Acutely sensitive though I am, I have not hesitated to accept the help offered by my friends and well-wishers, because I have always felt that my family is not confined to my blood relations but is conterminous with my country and when I have once for all dedicated my humble life to the service of my country my countrymen have as much right to look after my welfare as my nearest relative have.

"I desire, therefore, to assure them in return that their thoughts and prayers will be the most potent factor in helping my recovery (if it is not too late already)—a factor much more efficacious that the best medicines which the best doctors in the world can prescribe."

107 Detenus Allowed to sit for Examinations

The Calcutta University on January 19 granted permission to 107 detenus including a lady, Miss Kamala Chatterjee, formerly of the Scottish Churches College and detained at the Hijli detention camp, to appear at the ensuing university examination as non-collegiate students. These detenus are at present stationed in various detention camps, namely, Berhampore, Hijli, Buxa and Deoli etc.

B. & O. Public Safety Bill

The following report of the Select Committee, on the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill, 1933, was gazetted on February 10—

We, the undersigned, members of the Select Committee to which the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill, 1933, was referred, have considered the Bill and have the honour to submit this our report, with a copy of the Bill as amended by us annexed.

Clause 1.—We agreed that the duration of the Bill, if passed into law, should be limited to a period of three years and have provided accordingly in new sub-clause (4) of clause 1.

Clause 2.—As some fears were expressed that the powers delegated to the District Magistrate under sub-clause (1) of clause 2 might be abused by the repeated renewals of such orders, we agreed that it would be advisable to require the District Magistrate to make a report to the local Government of all such orders passed by him and that the local Government should have the power to cancel or modify any such order, and have provided accordingly in the proviso to clause 12.

Clause 3.—It was urged before us that it would be inadvisable to allow reports of proceedings of public meetings to be made under clause 3 by

police officers whose rank was lower than that of a Sub-Inspector of Police or a specially qualified Assistant Sub-Inspector. We consider that there is some force in the criticism, and have amended clause 3 so as to provide that police officers of a rank higher than that contemplated in the original Bill should be deputed for the purposes of this clause.

We agreed that the words "every facility" in sub-clause (2) of clause 3 were rather vague, and have amended the sub-clause by substituting the words "all reasonable facilities."

We carefully considered the effect of sub-clause (3) of clause 6 in so far as it provides that the amount of fine should be determined generally by the means of any inhabitant. It was argued that this provision would enable a heavy fine to be imposed on a rich man who owned even a very small property in the turbulent area.

We consider that the force of this objection would be removed if the amount of the fine which could be imposed on any inhabitant were determined by his means in the turbulent area, and have amended sub-clause (3) accordingly.

We recommend that the Bill as amended by us be passed.

Note of Dissent

Mr. Chandreshvar Prasad Narayan Sinha, M.L.C., has appended the following note of dissent:—

I consider that the explanation to clause 6 of the Bill should be omitted.

My reasons for asking for the omission of the explanatory paragraph are the following:—

(1) The explanation of the word 'inhabitants' makes the application of the law too wide and too indefinite which may result in roping in those who would not take part in anything prejudicial to the public safety or peace or in furtherance of a movement prejudicial to the public safety or peace.

(2) I would not like anybody else excepting those who are actually responsible for any offence to be punished by an indefinite provision of law to be passed by the legislature.

(3) At best, collective fines of this type are meant for persons residing in a certain area which may be declared unlawful, but to punish even those who may or may not have even the slighest knowledge of such acts on the mere pretext that they happen to possess some property in those localities would be a great harassment and should not be contemplated by the legislature.

Opposition

The Bihar Council passed on February 18th by 39 to 20 votes the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill, as reported by the Select Committee. Opposing the Bill Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, leader of opposition said that Government should not have armed itself, in advance of a prospective free political constitution, with a drastic penal legislation, which with a view to making subversive movements impossible in future would place in the meantime admittedly serious shackles on the liberties of subjects, when there was already on the statute book a draconian Act, passed a few weeks back by the Assembly which applied to the province also. No improvement was at all likely to accrue to the situation unless the present aggressively repressive policy was completely reversed, and replaced by one of sympathy and conciliation.

BEHAR PUBLIC SAFETY ACT

The B. and O. Gazette (extraordinary) notified:—

In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (3) of section 81 of the Government of India Act, the following Act of the local Legislature of Bihar and Orissa, having been assented to by the Governor General on the 10th March 1933, is hereby published for general information:—

Whereas it is expedient to confer special powers on Government and its officers for the purpose of maintaining law and order:

And whereas the Governor-General has given his previous sanction under sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act:

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Preliminary

1. (1) This Act may be called the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Act, 1933.

(2) This Chapter extends to the whole of the province of Bihar and Orissa including the Sonthal Parganas and the Local Government may, by notification, extend any or all of the remaining provision to such area as may be specified in the notification.

(3) This Chapter shall come into force at once, and the Local Government may, by notification, direct that any or all of the remaining provisions shall come into force in any area to which they have been extended, on such date as may be appointed in the notification.

(4) This Act shall remain in force for a period of three years.

Emergency Powers:

2. (1) The Local Government if satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has acted, is acting, or is about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace or in furtherance of a movement prejudicial to the public safety or peace, may, by order in writing, give any one or more of the following directions, namely, that such person—

(a) shall not enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order:
(b) shall reside or remain in any area specified in the order:
(c) shall remove himself from, and shall not return to, any area specified in the order:
(d) shall conduct himself in such manner, abstain from such acts, or take such order with any property in his possession or under his control, as may be specified in the order.

(2) An order made under sub-section (1) shall not, unless the Local Government by special order otherwise directs, remain in force for more than one month from the making thereof.

(3) An order made under sub-section (1) shall be served on the person to whom it relates in the manner provided in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 for service of a summons.

3. (1) The District Magistrate, or any Magistrate of the first class authorised by the District Magistrate in this behalf, may, by order in writing, depute one or more assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police specially approved for the purposes of this section by the Local Government or other police officers not below the rank of Sub-Inspector or other persons, to attend any public meeting for the purpose of causing a report to be made of the

proceedings and may, by such order, authorise the persons so deputed to take with them an escort of police officers.

Explanation

For the purposes of this section a public meeting is any meeting which is open to the public or to any class or portion of the public, and a meeting may be a public meeting notwithstanding that it is held in a private place and notwithstanding that admission thereto is restricted by ticket or otherwise.

(2) The conveners of a public meeting and all persons addressing, or present at such meeting shall afford to any police officer or other person deputed under sub-section (1) to attend such meeting all reasonable facilities to be present at, and to report the proceedings of such meeting.

Penalty for Disobeying

4. Whoever disobeys or neglects to comply with any order made or direction given in accordance with the provisions of section 2 shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine, or with both.

Penalty for obstruction of officer

5. (1) Whoever obstructs any police officer or other person deputed to attend any public meeting in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of section 3 shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

(2) If any person convening, addressing or attending a public meeting refuses or wilfully neglects to afford to any officer or person deputed under sub-section (1) of section 3 to attend such meeting all reasonable facilities for being present at, or reporting the proceedings of such meeting, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

Imposition of Collective Fine

6. (1) Where it appears to the Local Government that the inhabitants of any area are concerned in the commission of offences or other acts which are prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order or to the public revenues, or are harbouring persons concerned in the commission of such offences or acts, the Local Government may, by notification impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of that area

(2) The Local Government may exempt any person or class or section of such inhabitants from liability to pay any portion of such fine.

(3) The District Magistrate, after such inquiry as he may deem necessary, shall apportion such fine among the inhabitants who are liable collectively to pay it, and such apportionment shall be made according to the District Magistrate's judgment of the respective means within such area of such inhabitants.

(4) The portion of such fine payable by any person may be recovered from him as a fine or in accordance with the law applicable to the recovery of arrears of land revenue in the area concerned.

(5) The Local Government may award compensation out of the proceeds of a fine realised under this section to any person who, in the opinion of the Local Government, has suffered injury to person or property by the unlawful acts of the inhabitants of the area.

Explanation

For the purposes of this section, the "inhabitants" of an area includes persons who themselves or by their agents or servants occupy or hold land

or other immovable property within such area, and landlords who themselves or by their agents or servants collect rents from holders or occupiers of land in such area, notwithstanding that they do not actually reside therein.

Power to declare notified areas

7. (1) The Local Government may, by notification, declare that any part of the province of Bihar and Orissa or the whole of the province of Bihar and Orissa shall be a notified area for the purposes of this Chapter.

(2) The Local Government may further, by the same or by subsequent notification, declare that in such notified area land revenue or any sum recoverable as arrears of land revenue, or any tax, rate, cess or other due or amount payable to Government or to any local authority or for the maintenance of any village police, or rent of agricultural land, or anything recoverable as arrears of or along with such rent, shall be a notified liability.

Punishment for unlawful instigation

8. Whoever, by words either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations, or otherwise, instigates, expressly or by implication, any person or class of persons not to pay or to defer payment of any notified liability.

And whoever does any act, with intent or knowing it to be likely that any words, signs or visible representations containing such instigation shall thereby be communicated directly or indirectly to any person or class of persons, in any manner whatsoever shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine, or with both.

9. No Court shall take cognizance of any offence punishable under the Chapter except upon a report in writing of facts which constitute such offence made by a police officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector.

Power to collect an arrear of a notified liability

10. (1) Any person to whom an arrear of a notified liability is due may apply in writing to the Collector to realise it, and the Collector may, after satisfying himself that the amount claimed is due, proceed to recover it as an arrear of land revenue, in accordance with the law applicable to the recovery of arrears of land revenue in the area concerned.

(2) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person to whom an arrear of a notified liability is due from recovering it in accordance with the law applicable to the recovery of such arrear.

(3) Any person from whom an amount has been recovered under this section in excess of the amount due from him may recover such excess in accordance with law from the person on whose behalf the Collector has realised it.

TERRORIST ACTIVITIES & THEIR SUPPRESSION

Bomb Explosion in Lahore

As the result of a serious bomb explosion in a room in Ranjit Singh Samadh, Lahore, one Jaggu was killed on the spot and Pritam Singh received serious injuries on January 31. The latter has been removed to Mayo hospital. Another companion of Jaggu is reported to have escaped and the Police are after him. Jaggu is said to be an absconder in the Mankana Bomb Outrage Case and an accomplice of Sajjan Singh who was responsible for the death of Mahammad Sadique, Sub-Inspector of Hyderabad State.

The Police, it is reported, recovered from the room occupied by Jaggu in Ranjit Singh Samadh materials for manufacture of bombs.

Chandernagore Commissioner of Police Shot Dead

M. Quin, Commissioner of Police, Chandernagore who was shot at March 9 by a Bengali youth died in Chandernagore hospital on March 10. A constable and another Bengali youth were injured while chasing the culprits, condition of the former being precarious.

M. Quin, French Commissioner of Police, Chandernagore, received bullet wounds in course of his encounter with three youngmen, believed to be terrorist absconders. From details of the incident received it appears that M. Quin accompanied by some gendarmes raided a house in the town which was believed to be the rendezvous of terrorist absconders and gave warning to the inmates not to escape. Immediately three youngmen who looked like Bengalees started running away. M. Quin who happened to be unarmed chased them on a bicycle and eventually overtook two of the fugitives on the Grand Trunk Road. While he was questioning them, they fired at him from close range with the result that three bullets were lodged in the upper part of his body. One of the gendarmes who followed his chief was also hit on his chest.

Two of the assailants made good their escape but the third man who gave his name as Keshab Chandra Chatterjee was arrested. It is reported he is suspected to be an absconder in connection with some terrorist outrage.

The funeral of M. Quin who died on March 10 as a result of shooting outrage took place on the 11th with full military honours. The funeral was attended by a large number of local people both European and Indian. M. Barpheux, Administrator of French Chandernagore delivered a feeling speech dwelling on the life and the record of service of the deceased. This was followed by a memorial service.

Convictions under Law and Ordinances

The latest official statement showing the total number of political Prisoners convicted under ordinary law and the Ordinances at the end of December, 1932 in different provinces is as under:—

Bombay—Men 3730 and Women 207; United Provinces—Men 2900 and Women 116; Bengal—Men 1812 and Women 121; Bihar and Orissa—Men 1744 and Women 37; Northwest Frontier Provinces—Men 1741 and Women 1; Madras—Men 1017 and Women 95; Punjab—Men 343 and Women 15; Assam—Men 350 and Women 7; Delhi—Men 140 and Women 5; Coorg—Men 77 and Women 3; Ajmer Merwara—Men 41 and Women 2; C. P—311.

The total number of men under imprisonment in all provinces is 14,815 compared with 17,155 at the end of November last, while the total number of women undergoing imprisonment is 610 compared with 684 at the end of November.

Collective Fines

At question time in the Bengal Council on March 14 Sj. Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai asked: Will the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Political Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the last five years; (i) a list of places where collective fines have been imposed; the amount of such fines; the amount realised in each case?

Mr. W. D. R. Prentice made the following statement:—

The following are the particulars of the cases of collective fines imposed in districts of Bengal under Emergency Powers Ordinance and Special Powers Ordinance, 1933:—

ERRATA.

The first 6 lines on page 1049 should read as below:—

No.	District	Amount imposed Rs.	Amount realised Rs. As.
1.	Chittagong	85,000	65,080-8
2.	Midnapore	6,900	3,924-9
3.	24 Parganas	1,000	1,000

No.	District	Amount imposed Rs.	Amount realised. Rs. A.
1.	Chittagong	5,000	4,880 8
2.	Midnapore	86,900	64,124 9
3.	24 Parganas	1,000	1,000 0

Sj. Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai:—Will the Hon. Member please make a statement showing for the last five years a list of villages where punitive police have been stationed; the amount imposed as punitive tax; the amount realised; and whether the fines and the taxes have been imposed on any community other than the Hindus ?

Mr. W. D. R. Prentice:—If the reference is to additional police sanctioned under Section 15 of the Police Act of 1861, a detailed reply is too lengthy to give. In the last five years additional police have been posted in 13 areas in five districts—Chittagong, Dacca, 24-Perganas, Bankura and Midnapore—9 of these areas being in Midnapore. The total amount assessed was about Rs. 5,31,972, the total amount realised is not known. The exemptions have varied from case to case and have extended at times to Hindus as well as to members of other communities.

TOLL OF TERRORISM

On March 14th in the Bengal Council Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai asked: Will the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the last 5 years the number of murders, attempted murders, dacoities and other outrages committed by the terrorists ?

Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied: Murder—in 1928—nil, 1929—2, 1930—11, 1931—8, 1932—10. Attempted Murders—in 1928—3, 1929—2, 1930—23, 1931—23, 1932—27. Dacoities—1928—nil, 1929—3, 1930—17, 1931—41, 1932—57, Other outrages—1928—nil, 1929—1, 1930—2, 1931—9, 1932—3.

Sj. Munindra Deb Ray Mahashay: Have the measures that Government have taken to combat terrorism decreased the number of such cases ? If not, what other measures do the Government propose taking to root out terrorism from the country?

Hon. Mr. Prentice: Government are satisfied that the present policy, by which steady and increasing pressure is being exerted on the terrorist conspiracy has had, and is having a good effect, and that the situation has improved. Should fresh measures become necessary Government will not hesitate to adopt them.

Bombs or Fireworks in Chittagong

The Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary of Monday, March 27, notifies:—

Whereas it appeared to the District Magistrate of Chittagong that the letting off of bombs or fireworks in Chittagong was likely to cause obstruction to the authorities responsible for the preservation of the public tranquillity and whereas he issued an order, dated the 28th September 1932, under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, directing all persons to abstain from letting off any bombs or fireworks within the police-stations of Kotwali, Double Moorings and Panchalaish:

And whereas it appears to the Local Government that the conditions in Chittagong which led to the issue by the District Magistrate of the aforesaid order still continue and that the letting off of bombs or fireworks is likely to cause a danger to human life or safety:

Now therefore in exercise of the power conferred by section 144 (6) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, it is hereby directed that the said order shall remain in force for a further period of two months with effect from the 27th March 1933.

Prisoners to Andamans

A fresh batch of 25 Bengali prisoners were sent on 12-2-33 to the Andamans by a special steamer, s.s. "Maharaja." The prisoners were convicted in different cases and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging between four years' hard labour and life sentence. The cases in which they were convicted and the sentence passed on each of them are noted against their names:—

1. Nikhil Guha Ray, Kandi Bomb Case, 6 years' R. I. and Sibpore Dacoity Case, life sentence.
2. Rebati Mohan Shaha, Comilla Explosives Act Case, 7 years' R. I.
3. Surendra Mohan Kar, Charmaguria Postal Dacoity Case, Life sentence.
4. Bidhu Bhusan Sen, Arms Act Case (attempt to murder), Dacca, 6 years' R. I.
5. Parimal Ghosh, Telirbag Dacoity Case, Dacca, 5 years' R. I.
6. Lalit Chandra Chakravarty, Souriakandi Dacoity Case, Mymensingh, 5 years' R. I.
7. Ramchandra Das Shaha, Charmaguria Postal Dacoity Case, 7 years' R. I.
8. Sachin Home, Atharabari Robbery Case, Mymensingh, 7 years' R. I.
9. Rabindra Neogi, Saldah Dacoity Case, 7 years' R. I.
10. Nagendra Modak, Saldah Dacoity Case and Pearpur Arms Act Case, 7 years' R. I.
11. Man Krishna Namadas, Souriakandi Dacoity Case, Mymensingh, 5 years' R. I.
12. Bijan Kumar Sen, Dharbila Mail Robbery Case, Rajshahi, 7 years' R. I.
13. Surendra Acharji, Sourikandi Dacoity Case, Mymensingh, 5 years' R. I.
14. Rajani Ganguli, Kaneswar Mail Robbery Case, 6 years' R. I.
15. Nagendra Chandra Deb, Attempted Murder of an Official, Mymensingh, 4 years' R. I.
16. Kamini Kumar Dey, Arms Act Case, 5 years' R. I.
17. Anukul Chandra Chatterji, Angaria (Faridpore) attempted Mail Robbery Case, 10 years' R. I.
18. Jogesh Chakravarty, Angaria Attempted Mail Robbery Case, 5 years' R. I.
19. Sudhendra Roy, Attempted Murder of an Official, Mymensingh, 4 years, R. I.
20. Mathuranath Dutt, Mymensingh Arms Act Case, 5 years' R. I.
21. Kartick Das, Chinsurah Arms Act Case (theft of arms), 5 years' R. I.
22. Mohit Mohan Moitra, Calcutta Arms Act Case (theft of arms), 5 years' R. I.

23. Bankim Chakravarty, Badhighar (Tipperah) Arms Act Case, 5 years' R. I.

24. Lalit Singh Roy, Calcutta Arms Act Case, 6 years' R. I.

25. Upendra Nath Shaha, Souriakandi Dacoity Case, Mymensingh, 7 years' R. I.

Chancellor's Appeal at Calcutta University Convocation

"The Syndicate and Senate, as was only to be expected, have given expression to their sense of the menace which the cult of terrorism offers to the progress of true education and indeed to the advancement of the general interests of the country. I trust they will not permit their disapproval to stop short at mere expression but that they will actively exert their influence over students and guardians alike to counteract the insidious poison of this pernicious doctrine." With these words, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal in his first speech as Chancellor, addressed the annual Convocation on March 26th when nearly 673 Graduates received their Diplomas.

The Vice-Chancellor appealed to parents and guardians of boys to help the University in counteracting the terrible menace of terrorism to peaceful pursuit of knowledge and said "It is my duty to warn its alumni against the terrible disaster subversive activities against Government have brought to the country and the set-back it had already given to our aspirations for speedy attainment of Swaraj."

Prodyot Kumar Executed

Prodyot Kumar Bhattacharjee who was sentenced to death by the Special Tribunal in connection with the Douglas Murder case was executed on January 12 inside the Midnapore Central Jail. Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, maternal uncle of Prodyot, was allowed some pieces of burnt bones to be carried to Calcutta in order to throw them into the Ganges under strong Police guard after giving an undertaking that there will be no demonstration over it.

Kalipada Mukerjee

Kalipada Mukherjee, who was sentenced to death by Special Tribunal on November 8 in the K. P. Sen Murder Case and whose death sentence was confirmed by the High Court on December 19, was executed on February 20 in the Dacca Central Jail and his dead body was delivered to the members of the East Bengal Brahman Sabha headed by Sjs. Ramani Mohon Goswami and Monoranjan Banerjee, Pleader for cremation at Lalbagh crematorium.

Rewards for "Wanted" Persons

Reward aggregating over Rs. 6,000 were offered for informations leading to the arrest of 34 persons who are wanted by the Police and the amounts are noted against each of them:

Dinesh Chandra Mazumdar alias Moni—son of Purna Chandra Mazumdar of Basirhat. 24 Perganas—Rs. 1500. Gobinda Ray—son of Nagendra Nath Ray of 7, Kailash Bose Street, Calcutta—Rs. 1,000. Biren Roy—son of Lalit Mohan Roy of Saldah, Faridpore—Rs. 300. Bipadbaran Roy—son of late Kalipado Ray, Jaroal, Burdwan—Rs. 50. Benoy Chowdhuri—son of Gobinda Nath Chowdhuri, Sihigram, Burdwan—Rs. 100. Jugal Kishore Basak—son of Akhoy Basak, Ariff Road, Calcutta—Rs. 200. Prangopal Mookerjee—son of Bhupatinath Mukherji, Birbhum, Murshidabad—Rs. 100. Netai Chowdhuri—son of Kamininath Chowdhuri, Natore, Rajshahi—Rs. 50. Narendra Chandra Ghosh alias Nani—son of Durgadas Ghosh of Balubari, Dinajpore—Rs. 250. Adhir Banerji,—son of Chintaharan Bannerji, Panch-

gaon, Faridpore—Rs. 50. Annada Pal—son of Jagabandhu Pal, Ruperkandi, Chalekar Char, Dacca—Rs. 500. Bhupen Mazumdar—son of Bilaskumar Mazumdar, Gobindapore, Noakhali—Rs. 250. Kshitish Dev—son of Sarat Chandra Dev of Gobindapur, Rajshahi—Rs. 100. Janaki Ray of Ghatal P. S. Kotwali, Mymensingh—Rs. 100. Narendra Burman of Simulkandi. Mymensingh—Rs. 100. Birendra Dutta—son of Rukmini K. Dutt of Kalikatcha, Tipperah—Rs. 500. Dhananjay Kar of Midnapore—Rs. 100. Sukumar Dutt—son of Shamchandra Dutt of Panchasar, Dacca—Rs. 200. Anil Ghosh—son of Jagadish Ghosh of Taheta, Dacca—Rs. 500. Sudhir Nag of Panchgaon, Sylhet—Rs. 100. Chittaranjan Dutt alias Khusi—son of Umesh Chandra Dutt of Baidyabazar, 98, Bonogram Lane, Dacca—Rs. 50. Anil Das alias Renu—Rs. 100. Bonomali Bhattacharji of Barnagore —Rs. 100. Surendra Das—son of Haricharan Das of Hyderabad, Tipperah —Rs. 50. Biraj Mohan Dev alias Bagha—son of Issurchandra Dev of Kalikatch, Tipperah—Rs. 500. Sudhir Nandi—son of Jogendra Nandi of Issurganj, Mymensingh—Rs. 50. Nalini Das—son of Durgamohan Das of Dadpara, Bhola, Barisal—Rs. 1,000. Niranjan Mookherji—son of Rajnath Mukherji of Badalkati, Barisal—Rs. 250. Dhirendra Das—son of Jogendra Das of Dum Duma, Mymensingh—Rs. 250. Subodh Guha—son of Satish Chandra Guha of Raghunathpur, Barisal—Rs. 50. Saliendranath Ray alias Ada—son of Lalit Ray of Kulkati, Barisal—Rs. 100. Narain Banerji—son of Sarat Chandra Banerji, Seolapati, Barisal—Rs. 50. Brojogopal Shah of Kalargaon, Faridpore—Rs. 50 and Narendranath Sarkar—son of Preonath Sarkar, Hemaitpur, Pabna—Rs. 100.

Rewards aggregating to Rs. 13,900 have been offered for the arrest of thirteen persons who are stated to be absconders in the Chittagong Armoury raid case. These include Surya Sen, son of Rajani Sen, for whose arrest a reward of Rs. 10,000 was offered for one year with effect from June 22, 1932

Troops Target Shooting

A notice was issued on February 16 by the District Magistrate intimating to the public that the troops stationed at Mymensingh would practise target shooting in the 'Chur' land north of the District Judge's bungalow between 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. up to the month of May. The notice prohibited people from entering the 'Chur' land stretching from the District Judge's bungalow to the Ferryghat at Khagdahari, a distance of about a mile and a half. They were also not to come within 500 yards of the Brahmaputra between those hours. This restriction of movements considerably inconvenience the people on the northern bank as that area is rather densely populated and is full of agricultural lands. And it was the time for preparing for 'Aus' paddy and jute which are to be harvested by the end of May and beginning of June.

Assault by Dorset Soldiers

Following is the copy of the letter addressed by Sj. Rajani Kanta Das, Pleader, Judge's Court, Dacca, to the District Magistrate, Dacca:—

1. On 3-1-33 at about 6 P.M. my nephew Sreeman Subodh Chandra Das a young man of about 19 years of age and an employee at the Sadhana Press at Johnson Road, was coming southwards from his office along the said road. He was accompanied by another youngman of almost his age and they were talking to each other. When they came in front of the "O. K." restaurant where some Dorset Soldiers happened to be present one of them rushed upon my nephew assaulted him and gave him blows on his face, mouth and head.

2. The lower lip of my nephew was cut and he had swellings all over his face. He showed me the swellings and narrated the painful story.

3. Had you been in my position today you might have appreciated the unbearable pain the incident under reference has given to me.

4. My nephew is of a very quiet and docile nature and I have ever known him to be such—and this sort of over-bearing conduct and unprovoked assault on the part of those who are charged with the maintenance of law and order and to protect our life and honour only serve to embitter the feelings of the people and remind them of the utter helpness in which they are."

Route March by Dorset Detachment

The third detachment of the Dorsetshire Regiment consisting of about 125 British soldiers under the command of Captain S. W. Miller arrived at Baherak on February 21 and commenced their third route march in southern Bikrampur. From Baherak the soldiers marched to Kamarkhara and were quartered in the local High School which has been temporarily closed for the purpose.

On the 23rd the soldiers marched through Pura, Sherajabad, Baghia and Nyana. At Pura the soldiers were entertained by Rai Sahib Pramathanath Ghosh and his brothers. At Baghia the soldiers were entertained by Sj. Barada Kanta Sarkar, President Hashail Union Board. At Nayna they were entertained by Sj. Umesh Chandra Das Gupta a retired Income-tax Assessor.

Kalpana Dutt's Surety Bond Forfeited

Miss Kalpana Dutta against whom a proceeding along with two young men under sec. 109 Cr. P. C. was going on before the S. D. O. of Chittagong absconded on 28th Dec. She pleaded guilty in the aforesaid proceedings but the Magistrate did not pass any order then on her plea and proceeded to take evidence. After attending the Court on certain dates she absconded. Her father and cousin immediately, it is said, reported the matter to the police and inspite of the vigorous search she had not yet been traced by the Police and her relations. In the meantime the S. D. O. of Chittagong took proceedings against the sureties and enforced the penalty of Rs. 1,000 on both sureties. The Additional District Magistrate upheld the order when the petitioners moved the High Court and obtained the rule on the ground that the order directing each of the petitioners to pay a fine Rs. 1,000 was illegal in contravention of the terms of the surety bond.

His lordship Mr. Justice Pearson ordered the surety bond to the extent of Rs. 1,000 only to be forfeited, there being no liability for any amount exceeding the sum of Rs. 1,000, which was to be paid by two sureties in the sum of Rs. 500 only.

Two Moslem Villagers Shot Dead

Two Mahomedan villagers were shot dead at Bagaon in Raozan thana, Chittagong, on the night of 7th March. It is alleged while the military were searching for terrorist absconders, they came across two persons under suspicious circumstances. The latter refused to halt when they were challenged by the patrol party who believed them to be absconders escaping and shot them down. It transpired subsequently that they were two Mahomedan villagers named Kadir Ahmed and Jair Miah. The District Magistrate held a local enquiry into the incident. Bagoan is in the area where the police and the military were actively searching for absconders. It is understood the District Magistrate is issuing fresh warning orders inviting people's special attention to answer and halt at police and military challenge.

Sir Harry Haig gave a long reply to a short notice question in the Assembly regarding these Muslims being shot dead in Chittagong on March

7th by the military and while maintaining that no action would be taken against those who shot them dead informed the House that the matter would be taken up with Bengal Government and the Army Authorities.

Police Officer Shot Dead

Sub-Inspector Makhan Dikshit, officer-in-charge of the Patiya Police Station, in Chittagong, was shot dead in his own quarters on Sunday night (March 26th). The outrage, is reported to have been committed by unknown persons. In this connection 5 persons, all accused in a bad livelihood case were arrested.

Arrest of an Absconder

On January 9th the military posted at Gomdandi surrounded the house of Golakthakur of Sakura and succeeded in arresting Diptimedha Chowdhury, an armoury raid absconder for whose arrest Rs. 250 was proclaimed. Satish Chandra De found with Diptimedha on the top floor of that house was also arrested.

Student Arrested

The Police arrested Chittaranjan Das a student of the Third Year Class under the Bengal Ordinance. He was formerly arrested in connection with the Pahartali ooutrage and was on bail.

Surya Sen's Arrest

Fuller details regarding the arrest of Surja Sen and Brajendralal Sen at Gairala in Patiya police station on February 16th stated that acting on police information a party of 2/9th Gurkha Rifles surrounded the house of Niranjan Biswas on the night of February 16. While the military was forming a cordon a torchlight was flashed upon them and three persons were seen firing on the troops with revolvers. The troops returned the fire and hurriedly completed the cordon. Two persons, it is stated, tried to force through the cordon and again opened fire on the troops who could not return it lest they should hit members of their own party.

Lance Naik Narsingh Khatri and two riflemen then rushed out and struggled with the two who were eventually secured. One of them was found to be Surja Sen, who was found to be in possession of a revolver and a few cartridges. Rifleman Manbahadur Khattri secured Surja.

Charge Sheet Against Surya Sen

Charge-sheet in the Pahartali European Institute Raid case was submitted on February 18 on the basis of which all the 13 persons who were arrested in this connection were discharged.

Immediately after they were let off, four persons including Gunendralal Dutta, Bireswar Roy, Narendralal Dutt and Promode Ranjan Das Gupta were re-arrested under the Bengal Ordinance and taken to jail. Two others including Chattalesh Chowdhury and Chittaranjan Das were already detained under the Bengal Ordinance during the investigation stage of this case.

The only person against whom charge sheet was submitted by the police in connection with the Pahartali European Institute Raid case is Surya Sen.

Dacca Residents to Report to Police.

Notices under the signature of the District Magistrate of Dacca were being served on March 9 on residents of this city under the Bengal Terrorrists Suppression Act of 1932.

It was arranged to have the notice served through the members of the Watch and Ward Committee which has among its members persons of different Mohollas of the town. The members of this Committee went round their respective Mohollas, served the notices and collected the names of the

male members of the families between the ages of 14 and 35 for report to the authorities. The notices direct that if any male person between the ages of 14 and 35 come and reside in a house for over 24 hours, the householder is to report it to the police station within 24 hours and he is also to report if any male member of his family between the ages of 14 and 35 is likely to be absent from the house for over a month. Failure to abide by these rules is liable to result in a fine or six months' imprisonment. Mahomedans as a community as well as the coolies and the allied classes have been extempted from the rigours of these orders.

Hindus Should Have Hindu Dress

In exercise of the powers conferred on him under section 18 of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act of 1932, the Governor in-Council, for the purpose of preventing movements of and communications with absconders and terrorists, declares that no person shall wear the garb of any community or sex other than his own, unless he habitually does so, in the normal course of his profession or occupation. Any person who contravenes this rule, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine, or with both.

Special Liability

In exercise of the powers conferred on him by sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Bengal Public Security Act, 1932, the Governor-in-Council declare that the rate imposed under section 37 of the Bengal Village Self-government Act in the areas specially notified shall be a liability. It is understood that this provision is designed to counteract the move set afoot to withhold the Union Board taxes as part of the Congress movement.

Unlawful Associations

The Governor-in-Council has declared the houses of Sushilabala Debya and Aditya Roy, both of which are situated in the village of Jeypore in the Bankura district, are places used for purposes of unlawful association.

ON THE FRONTIER

DISTURBANCES AMONG TRIBESMEN

KING Nadir Shah is confronted with a fresh menace in North Waziristan, states a report on February 20.

The Afghan Government executed Gulam Nabi Khan at Kabul in November last and suppressed a rising in the southern province.

Things were quiet for some time but recently a mendicant, Lewanai Faquir, tried to rally the Malangs against the King. He then escaped to North Waziristan and giving it out that ex-King Amanulla would shortly be arriving in Afghanistan, held out promises of loot to the tribesmen. Many young Wazirs and Mahsuds joined him and the leading Maliks of those tribes were unable to restrain these hot-heads. Orders had been issued by the Afghan Government for the establishment of a cordon round the affected area. A subsequent statement of the Afghan Consulate in Bombay published extracts from reports received at the Consulate from time to time. It is now given out for public information that during the last few years, small parties of Wazirs and Mahsuds and a number of bad characters of the Darrikhail tribe, in company with Lewanai Faqir, concentrated at Moghalgai with a view to creating disturbance in Khost. Even though the tribes of Southern Afghanistan requested the Government to grant them permission to attack and drive out the offenders the Government wanted to persuade them by peaceful means to return to their own country.

Driven Back

The offenders made an advance with a view to attacking Khost. The tribes of the Khost district and Wazirs, Ahmedzais, Jadrans and Mangals, along with the Afghan regulars, residents at Khost attacked the offenders and within a few hours drove them back. A large number of the offenders were killed and arrested.

Under the instruction of the Government, His Royal Highness Shah Mahmood Khan, Minister for war, left for the Southern province on March 16 to reward the tribes who have remained loyal.

Rebels Foiled

The trouble in Waziristan entered into a new phase. It was reported on March 1st that a Waziri Laskar attacked a fort at Matun during the week-end and was repulsed, with considerable casualties, by the Afghan regular troops. The warlike Ghilzai tribes of the South remained loyal to King Nadir Shah and refused to join the rebels. Following a further reverse on 27th February the Wazirs lost their moral and were reported to be returning to their homes.

The Foreign and Political Department issued the following communique on March 2nd:—The termination of Ramjan and the approach of Spring is generally a sufficient cause for minor disturbances amongst younger tribesmen but this year their activities have assumed a novel and a more serious aspect and one which is difficult to account for. During the last few days parties composed of young men from nearly, all sections of Wazirs and Mahsuds have left their villages and concentrated in few miles across the Afghan border in Khost. The situation is that a considerable

number of tribesmen went over to the Afghan territory in spite of opposition of their tribal leaders to whom it has been made quite clear by political authorities that the Government most strongly disapprove of any interference with the affairs of the neighbouring power. It is difficult to find any explanation for this movement. For some months past the Afghan authorities have been endeavouring to secure the arrest of Lewanai Fakir an Afghan subject who is accompanied by an individual about whom there is a certain amount of mystery.

It was reported to the Afghan Government that Lewanai Fakir and his friend had moved across the frontier into British India and the Government of India were requested to effect the capture of these agitators. On one or two occasions our efforts proved fruitless owing to the Fakir and his party moving into desolate hills in southern Khost and thus avoiding capture.

Rumours of a fantastic nature regarding the personality of the unknown men accompanying Lewanai Fakir and of the events that may take place have become widespread and it seems that the flow of these tribesmen into Afghanistan has been principally actuated by curiosity and the desire for losing no opportunity to obtain loot. The danger in the present situation lies in the fact that this collection of hot heads may be joined by local Afghans and cause disturbances in southern province and anxiety to the Afghan Government.

Since tribal leaders have failed to exercise complete control the Government are determined to prevent further incursions into Afghanistan by their tribesmen. Steps have therefore been taken to establish a cordon along the frontier between Khost and Waziristan in order to prevent any further bodies from crossing into the Afghan territory.

The latest news received indicates that the Lashkar in Khost has met with firm resistance. Considerable numbers have returned disappopinted to their homes in Waziristan and it is opined that their example will shortly be followed by others.

WARNING TO TRIBESMEN

Accompanied by two full squadrons of the R. A. F. the Governor of the Frontier Province left Peshawar by air on March 9th to address the Jirgas of Wazirs and Mahsuds at Wana and Sararogha in connection with the disturbance in Khost.

His Excellency the Governor landed at Wana and addressed Ahmadzai Wazir Jirga. Afterwards His Excellency flew to Sararogha where he delivered a similar address to Mahsuds. The Governor said: You know Government always desires to be on friendly terms with all neighbouring countries. You know that the Government is in close friendship with King Nadir Shah. Our friends are his friends and if our tribes become his enemies they become our enemies. There all those of your tribesmen who have joined Lashkar in Khost or have given help anyway to Lashkar or to its leaders are enemies of the Government. When some days ago your tribesmen began to join that Lashkar in Khost, the Political Agent informed your tribal leaders and your Jirgas that this movement was displeasing to the Government and that it must be stopped. You Maliks were told to exert your influence over your tribes and to see that Government's orders were carried out. In case of some Mashuds of Wazir tribes, orders of the Government have been obeyed. In other cases Maliks have brought back most of their men who have gone to Khost. I have come to give you all a warning. Although you have been fully cognizant of the Government's order for some time parties of Mahsuds and Ahmadzai Wazirs still continue to leave for Khost and at the present time there are considerable numbers of Mahsuds and Ahmadzai

Wazirs there. It is now necessary for me to tell you in the clearest manner that orders of the Government must be obeyed and that Government is prepared to use all her force to ensure obedience to her orders. If more of your men go to Khost or if within 4 days, your men now in Khost lashkar have not started to return such an action will be taken against offending tribes, as seems desirable. As far as possible relations of houses and other property of Mahsuds and Ahmadzai Wazirs who are at home or who have started to return will not be interfered with. But it is always difficult to distinguish between innocent and guilty of any particular section. It is, therefore, to your interest to take such an action as you think necessary to bring back your men now in Khost. If within four days our men now in Khost lashkar have not started to return such an action will be taken against the offending tribes as seems desirable."

A press communique on March 9th states:—It is reported that there is no material change in the situation at Khost, and that fighting continues round Matun between a hostile lashkar and the Afghan regular and tribal forces. In order to increase the effectiveness of the cordon, established between Khost and Waziristan to prevent the flow of tribesmen from the British territory into Afghanistan, it has been decided temporarily to augment the normal garrison of Waziristan by two battalions. In addition, troops from the Kohat district are co-operating. With the assistance of these reinforcements, it will be possible to release the Razmak troops from the cordon duty and to be in readiness to deal with any emergency that may arise. The Royal Air Force continue to keep a close watch on all movements towards the Afghan territory and any hostile concentration.

HIGHWAY ROBBERY

How six Wazirs armed to the teeth and disguised in veils reaching to their feet stopped a passenger lorry on the Bannu Dera Ismail Khan road, shot down the driver and robbed the passengers at pistol point was related in a report. The victims related that the lorry was made to pull up by six veiled figures sitting by the way side. The driver, however, attempted to restart his lorry when he found out who his intending passengers were, but was immediately shot down. The Wazirs then deprived the passengers of all the money and valuables they were carrying and decamped after cutting up the tyres. One of the alleged highway robbers was arrested two days later in the Bannu bazar, while he was attempting to sell a watch. He made a statement which led to the arrest of the other five. It is stated that all the six men are "Khassadars" that is, men in the pay of the Frontier Government, posted for guarding the region where the crime was committed.

RETRENCHMENT

THOMAS REPORT

THE report of the Bombay Reorganisation Committee, presided over by Mr. G. A. Thomas, late Home Member of the Bombay Executive Council, proposes changes which, they estimate, will produce an annual saving of two crores, despite the extra cost of the Reformed Councils, the Public Services Commission, etc.

The pay of the Chief Minister is to be Rs. 3,000 and that of other Ministers Rs. 2,500. The President of the Legislative Council is to receive a salary of Rs. 2,000. The Deputy President's post is to be an honorary one. The Chief Justice is to get Rs. 3,000 and the other judges Rs. 2,500 per month. Their special allowances are to be discontinued. The travelling allowances of M.L.C's. are to be reduced.

Revision of the scales of pay in the Education Department, the handing over of the Secondary Schools to private bodies if the latter come forward to take them over and the abolition of the Agricultural College, Poona, the Veterinary College, the School of Arts and the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, are recommended, as also the withdrawal of the present grants to the Bombay Municipality and the Thana and suburban local boards. A total saving of six-and-a-half lakhs is proposed by the formation of a Board of Works

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S DECISION

The Bombay Government announced on February 14th their decision on the Reorganisation Committee's Report. The recommendations have been accepted, showing a saving in 1933-34 of Rs. 18,20,000, and an ultimate saving of Rs. 28 lakhs. Some of the bigger savings include:

Withdrawal of the compensatory local allowances at Poona;

Readjustment of the local allowances at Karachi and the suburbs of the City;

Reduction of travelling allowances;

Abolition of the post of Joint Secretary, P. W. D., with effect from 1st June 1933, and of the Director of Public Health;

Provincialisation, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State of the Civil Surgeoncies at Matheran and Mahabaleshwar.

The Government do not accept the general policy of the Committee in regard to closing the Government Arts Colleges and the School of Art, but it has been decided to increase the fee. Among the recommendations which the Government have rejected is the reduction of travelling allowances to members of the Legislative Council.

POST OFFICE SALARIES CUTS

A joint meeting of the Branch Unions in the city of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union was held on January 18 at the Pachaiyappa's College Northern Hall, to protest against the contemplation of the Government of India to continue the ten per cent cut for the Posts and Telegraphs Department on the plea that it is a Commercial Department like the Railways. Mr. Mahomed Muazzam, M.L.A., presided.

BENGAL SERVICES

A communique issued on February 18th announces that the Bengal Governor-in-Council and Ministers fully considered the Government of India's announcements regarding the continuance of salary cut, but reduced to five per cent as well as the withdrawal of the order of exemption from special

increase in income-taxes and opines that it is impossible to treat provincial services differently. Accordingly orders would be issued on the lines of the announcement of the Government of India in respect of the personnel whose conditions of service are determined by the Government of Bengal.

The communique adds: "As at present the Governor, Executive Councillors and Ministers will also forego a similar percentage in their respective salaries."

As a result of the retrenchment measures accepted by the Bengal Government reductions amounting to Rs. 3,96,841 are included in the budget for 1933-34, and Rs. 10,02,215 is the approximate ultimate saving under the different budget heads. In contingencies, a total cut amounting to Rs. 6,98,000 has been made under all the budget heads, excluding Jails and Police in the budget for 1933-34, as compared with the average of the actuals for the three years ending 1930-31.

MADRAS SERVICES

The following press note was issued by the Government of Madras:

The Madras Government have decided that the cut in pay of officers under their rule-making powers, including the Provincial and Subordinate services will not be continued after March 31st, 1933.

FINANCES OF LOCAL BODIES IN MADRAS

The Report of Mr. T. Sivarama Setu Pillai, Special Officer appointed to report on the Finances of Local Bodies states:—

Standardization of the land revenue is a desirable reform. But how much scope that would give for local taxation, it is difficult to determine. To increase the cess of 18 pies made compulsory recently is not within the range of immediate practical politics. The Madras Government took the liberty to levy a motor vehicle tax in lieu of tolls with disastrous results. Whether the law of diminishing returns which the tax has already brought into play will be converted into one of increasing returns is a speculation into which one need not enter at the present moment, in view of the financial position of the Government of India. The final proposal to tax marriages is a novel one, and if the inquisitoriousness of the tax-payer at an auspicious occasion, is not likely to arouse much opposition the tax may be easily collected and would prove fruitful. But the likely proceeds would not be adequate to the needs of the district boards.

To sum up: (1) strength in the clerical staff in the offices under the district board may be reduced, (ii) scales of pay may be made as uniform as possible among the district boards and varieties in the same office reduced, (iii) the road development programme must be watched and a road board formed, (iv) the need for the number of schools under each district board may be examined and (v) the practicability of transferring the health services to Government may also be investigated.

INDIAN TAXATION COMMITTEE'S VIEWS

The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee (1924-25), after remarking "that the finances of local bodies all over the country are inadequate for the services which they have to perform," recorded it as their opinion that the general rate of taxation is undoubtedly low. "It is perhaps pertinent to remark," they write, "that in this respect of local taxation, the incidence per head of the population in India is 1/152 of that in the United States of America, 1/124 of that in the United Kingdom, 1/18 of that in Japan, 1/14 of that in France and 1/13 of that in Italy."

GOVERNMENT REPORTS

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ANDAMANS

THE following extracts from the administration Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands for 1929-30 are of interest:—

The duties of the Police were heavier than usual during the second-half of the year owing to guards being required over (1) Japanese vessels detained for smuggling and (2) at a large convict station at Chauldari formed temporarily to house men on reclamation bunds. The unexpected malariousness of Chauldari in what is the off season for malaria caused heavy sick returns and increased duties for those escaping sickness.

Signs of material betterment were visible throughout the year. The number of houses built from sawn posts, half inch planks and tin roofs increased very considerably at Headquarters and in the villages some of which have hardly a single wattle and thatch hut left. The common people have taken to such luxuries as cheap rubber shoes and electric torches. Motor buses have multiplied and also taxis. On fair-days and also at wrestling matches, which are conducted with great decorum, the people attend in clean and good clothes and the convicts are with difficulty to be singled out from among the free spectators. There has been a great addition to the numbers of resident Burmese women and children. This is due to the allotment of sufficient land to allow for the erection of customary monastery guest house, temple and pagoda. There is now an imperfect but real sample of Burmese life and manners at Phoenix Bay round which Burman colony centres. The emigration of Burmese women is probably unique but is paralleled by the strong community of Mapillah women and children which is now definitely established here. During the year there was a very large number of new convicts, 2,264, and an increase in total strength over the previous year of 1,203. These new men included many literates for while 94.25 per cent of the 147 new arrivals of 1928-29 were illiterate only 71.87 per cent. of the 2,264 of 1929-30 were so. It is hoped that this addition of literate men will be of benefit to the community.

Considerable portions of the Stewartgunj plain were dug over by convict labour and the 'aureum' feru and other coarse matted growths removed and burnt and the land brought under rice. The workers were all family Mapillahs drawing subsistence allowance. Each man was ultimately given a holding on this cleared land. Only by controlled labour it is possible to clear successfully land that has deteriorated in this manner and the same method should be applied to the fern areas at Bumlitan and Mithakhari.

There were 8,118 convicts in the settlement at the end of the year as compared with 6,985 last year. Of these 5,547 or 67.75 per cent were life convicts and 2,641 or 32.25 per cent term convicts. During the year 2,250 males and 10 females were received from India and Burma.

The casualties during the year numbered 1,083, namely 1,057 males and 26 females; 23 married women were released with their convict husbands under section 13 of Andaman Administrative Circular No. VII as against 27 last year. 1882 male convicts were released on special grounds by Local Governments and the Government of India.

The total number of convicts released during the quinquenium ending 1929-30 is shown below:—

1925-26	213
1926-27	360
1927-28	365
1928-29	213
1929-30	411
During 1929-30:—	
20 years' rule	353
25 years' rule	31
Married women	23
Medical grounds	4
Total	411

Marriages:—136 applications for marriage were made during the year under report against 161 in the previous year and 36 remained pending from the previous year. Of these 64 were sanctioned as against 149 sanctioned in the previous year. 60 applications were refused for various reasons and 48 applications remained pending at the close of the year. 111 families of convicts arrived in the settlement during 1929-30.

Coconut Oil Factory:—One mill worked for 140 days. The daily average outturn was 163.54 lbs., oil and 109.02 lbs. oil-cake. The total cash coconuts, coconut oil and oil-cake amounted to Rs. 5,578-1-0. On an average 4.81 nuts including bad nuts, yielded a pound of oil.

Cane and Rope Factories:—A daily average of 10 convicts was employed in the Cane Factory and 13 in the Rope Factory. The estimated value of the articles manufactured in the Cane Factory was Rs. 1,909-7-0 while that of the Rope Factory was Rs. 2,344-11-0. 12,368 lbs. coir fibre and 8,329 lbs. coir yarn were manufactured during the year. 437 lbs. sisal yarn and 533 lbs. of sisal fibre were manufactured and extracted.

INDIAN CUSTOMS

"Trade figures declined heavily and the duty figures would not have been maintained much less improved, if the rates of duty had not been enhanced, firstly in March 1931 and again in September 1931," says Mr. Ram Nath, Secretary, Central Board of Revenue, in his review of the Customs Administration in India during the year 1931-32.

In Bombay there were appreciably larger receipts during the year under Silk and articles made of silk cotton manufactures, cutlery, hardware, etc., chemicals, drugs and medicines, dyes and colours, machinery and raw cotton. There was a falling off under all the other heads. The total export duty rose from Rs. 5,02 (thousands) in the previous year to Rs. 5,60 (thousands) during the year under report. Calcutta was responsible for heavy decreases under Sugar and Metals. Petroleum, kerosene and mineral oils, machinery and other articles showed increases of about one crore. On the export side jute was responsible for a decrease of about 38 lakhs. In Karachi the amount of duty realised was Rs. 5,65 lakhs as against 6,37 lakhs in the previous year. Cotton manufactures brought in about 25 lakhs more than as compared with the previous year, while liquors and sugar were down by about 10 lakhs and 94 lakhs respectively. On the export side Hides and Skins were down by about 1 lakh. In Burma the import duty had been steadily declining since 19927-28 inspite of the all-round increase in the rates of duty, and the figure which then stood at Rs. 4,69 lakhs was reduced to Rs. 3,15 lakhs during the year. The revenue at the Madras Custom House increased by Rs. 4,29 lakhs and at the outports by about 37 lakhs.

CENTRAL PROVINCES FOREST

The gross revenue in 1931-32 fell from Rs. 51 to 44½ lakhs, every class of produce contributing to the decrease. A smaller demand and lower

prices for timber account for a fall of nearly 3¼ lakhs, while the absence of cash in the pockets of the agriculturists reduced the grazing revenue. The hot weather of 1931 practically killed the lac crop.

A start has been made with the investigation of intricate problem presented by the management of forest pasture lands in consultation with the Agricultural and Veterinary departments. Of the two commercial undertakings, one, the Raipur forest tramway, continued to be a source of anxiety and the other, the Allapili Saw Mill, continued to. show a profit, in spite of the lower rates for sawn timber.

MADRAS FOREST

The administration Report of the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency for the year 1931-32 states:—

The area of reserved forest is unfortunately far too small to supply more than a small proportion of the public need for fuel, grazing, etc. Only ten per cent of the cattle of the Presidency obtained grazing in the forests including those handed over to panchayat managements; but while the number grazed in panchayat forests showed only a very small decrease as compared with last year, the cattle grazed in forests under departmental management fell from 1,531,661 to 1,409,175—a drop of 8 per cent. The Chief Conservator is investigating the cause of the difference between the two cases; but it may be surmised that while panchayat forests, having little tree-growth of any value, are notoriously apt to be over-grazed, the grazing in the forests under departmental management may have required special temporary restrictions in the interests of conservancy. The transfer of the issue of permits from commission agents to departmental agency (effected towards the close of the year in order to reduce expenditure) is mentioned by the Chief Con servator as a possible cause of the reduction in the number of permits issued.

MADRAS FISHERIES

The following Government Order on the Administration report for 1931-32 of the Madras Fisheries Department issued:—

Fishery research is not, entirely dependent on the results of deep-sea fishing. Both scientific and technological research were carried on during the year at the biological stations at West Hill (Calicut), Krusadai and Vizagapatam and at the Tanur experimental station and in the various fish-curing yards. In the direction of scientific research, while perhaps no complete results can be recorded, progress was made in the analysis of plankton and its relation to the habits of the oil sardine which constitutes so important an element in the fish industry of the West Coast. There are indications, for example that the presence in large quantities of the plankton organisms called "Noctiluca" generally implies a scarcity of the oil sardine, since both feed on the same Diatoms. The significance of rings in determining the age of the oil sardine is also under investigation.

INDIAN RAILWAYS

The gross receipts for the year ended 31st March 1932 of the State-owned railways were lower by 8½ crores owing to the unexampled world-wide economic depression, aggravated in India by the difficulties of the political situation. The increasing road motor competition had its share in reducing earnings. The net receipts of the railways were insufficient to meet their interest charges. The deficit was 9.20 crores or about 4 crores more than in the previous year. The balance of Rs. 4.95 crores in the Reserve

Fund was totally wiped out and a sum of Rs. 4¼ crores had to be borrowed from the Depreciation Fund. In order to meet this deficit, owing to the continued working under loss of the State-owned railways, the payment of contribution to the general revenues was in abeyance until the return of prosperous years.

The total earnings of all the Indian railways including those with which the Government of India is not directly concerned, amounted to Rs. 97,21 crores of which Rs. 58.73 crores or 60.4 per cent. were from goods traffic, Rs. 31.35 crores or 32.3 per cent. from parcels, luggage and miscellaneous items.

Passenger earnings decreased from Rs. 34.29 crores during 1930-31 to Rs. 31.35 crores during the year under review, showing a drop of 8.58 per cent. resulting from smaller movement of passengers travelling long and short distances, which was due to the decrease in the spending power of the people, combined with the general unrest in the country.

Earnings from goods traffic on all railways decreased by Rs. 5.68 crores chiefly under cotton, raw and manufactured fuel (coal) for the public and for foreign railways, wheat, sugar, oil-seeds, jute, raw metallic ores and railway materials and stores.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The Government order on the annual report on the working of the Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912 states:—

While the general economic depression was certainly not less severe in the year under review than in the previous year, the financial position of the co-operative movement showed a remarkable change. Last year the central banks suffered from such a shortage of funds that for a time some of them were unable to pay their dues to the Provincial Bank and Government had to come to the rescue with a loan of ten lakhs. In 1931-32, on the other hand, the trouble was a plethora of funds and a lack of suitable scope for their investment—a condition which prevailed also in the money market generally.

The reduction in the volume of loans is more clearly attributable to the other causes mentioned by the Registrar. In former years, the volume has been swollen by repayments being adjusted towards new loans —a very mischievous practice, which is now ceasing with the more rigid scrutiny of applications. This, in fact, is the true cause of the reduction in lending business; and though it may cause inconvenience, it must be welcomed as a sign of a more healthy tone in the co-operative movement. It is in accordance with the policy adopted in 1929 of rectifying and consolidating societies with any vitality and liquidating those with none, rather than expanding the number of new registrations.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT SOCIETIES

Agricultural credit societies form the great bulk of the movement; in other branches there were no striking variations, but on the whole a decrease in number as in the case of agricultural credit socities. Some signs of activity were shown in the organization of new weaver societies (though the total number operating fell considerably) and in connexion with the marketing of ground-nut in South-Arcot. With the close co-ordination of the Co-operative department with other departments, particularly those of Agriculture and Industries, which is the present policy of Government, an expansion of this class of co-operative enterprise may be anticipated. The registration of the first co-operative insurance society (the South India Co-operative Insurance Society) is noteworthy.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

The annual report of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department for the year 1931-32 reveals the following facts:—

(1) The department worked at a heavy loss, receipts being Rs. 13 lakhs less than those for 1930-31.

(2) There was a heavy fall of revenue in 1930-31, (about Rs. 52 lakhs). Although expenditure was curtailed as soon as the contraction of traffic became apparent, the loss for that year reached the enormous sum of Rs. 133½ lakhs.

(3) Decline in receipts continued in spite of enhancement of postal and telegraph charges.

(4) Postage charges realized were Rs. 6,25,00,000.

(5) 23,983 Post Offices were working and 62,300 letter boxes were in use.

(6) 85,93,000 postal articles reached the Dead Letter Offices.

(7) In the areas served by the Dead Letter Offices of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, an average of 109 articles were posted every day with no address of whatever, though many of them contained money or other valuables. In the articles opened were found cheques, currency notes, bills of exchange, coins and other property to the aggregate nominal value of over Rs. 6 lakhs.

(8) The total loss through highway robberies were Rs. 17,600.

AGRICULTURE IN BIHAR

The report of Mr. D. R. Sethi, Officiating Director of Agriculture, Bihar and Orissa, for 1931-32, states that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research had sanctioned the following schemes up to the end of the year under report:—

(1) Rice Research Scheme for 5 years;
(2) Sugarcane Research Scheme for 5 years;
(3) Investigations into the design for a small power cane crusher;
(4) Research work on Water Hyacinth in Orissa by Prof. Parija; and
(5) Collection of data on manurial experiments conducted on the Departmental Farms in the province.

These schemes involve a total expenditure of Rs. 3,76,770 which has been sanctioned by the Council.

Sugarcane Research

A piece of land, about 91.50 acres in area, was finally selected for the Sugarcane Research Station. It is situated at Mushari within 5 miles of Muzaffarpur and adjoins the Muzaffarpur-Pusa road. The selection of a suitably qualified officer to hold the post of sugarcane specialist was entrusted to the Public Service Commission, India. Mr. K. L. Khanna was selected for the post and joined his duties in the third week of March, 1932. The remainder of the staff consisting of an overseer and a clerk would be recruited early next year. Projects for necessary buildings, water supply to the research station, and laboratory equipment were completed and await the sanction of the Government. Ten acres of land were planted with 45 varieties of cane. Although the land had not been acquired the Department were able to do this planting by private arrangements with the land-owners, in order not to lose a whole season. In spite of the late planting in the season about the middle of March there would be ample material for the research workers to carry on major part of their investigations at the research station during the coming year.

White Sugar

The legislation resulting from the recommendations of the Tariff Board's enquiry into the production of the factory white sugar in India has given a great deal of impetus to white sugar industry in Bihar. In North Bihar, 12 factories worked during the last crushing season and are presumed to have dealt with the produce of nearly 80,000 acres. Seven new factories were either in the course of election or contemplated and are expected to start operating in the next crushing season. In response to the erection of new factories the area under cane is also on the increase and it is expected that the total plantings will exceed by about 25 per cent of the last season's area under this crop. In South Bihar there is only one small factory at Buxar. Considering the area under cane in this part of the province and the excellence of the crop, it is a pity, that the Bihar industrialists have not yet shown any interest in the possibilities of developing the white sugar industry in this area. The continued prosperity of white sugar industry depends upon the quality of its raw material sugar cane. It is in connection with this aspect of the problem that the Provincial Agricultural Department has done such invaluable work during the past few years. Some 15 years ago the white sugar industry in Bihar was in a very precarious condition because the local canes had deteriorated very considerably. The production of new cane varieties although essential was a very difficult problem because the cane does not seed in this province. This work, therefore, had to be undertaken at Coimbatore and as a result of research work carried out there the Imperial Sugarcane Expert was able to produce a number of varieties suitable for cultivation under Bihar condition.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

THE REFORMS SCHEME

IN his address in opening the winter session of the Indian Legislative Assembly on February 1st, 1933, H. E. the Viceroy said:—

SECRETARY OF STATE'S PLEDGES

There is one passage in the speech of the Secretary of State at the conclusion of the Conference to which I would particularly refer. You will remember that some pressure was put on the Secretary of State by the members of the Indian Delegation to enter a definite date in the Bill by which time the Federation should come into being. The Secretary of State explained the grave difficulties in the way of that suggestion, but gave two pledges the importance of which has, I feel sure, not been lost. In the first place, the Secretary of State declared that it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to inaugurate any kind of Provincial Autonomy under conditions which might leave Federation to follow on as a mere contingency in the future. In the second place, speaking not only for the British Government but for the British Delegation as a whole, he stated that between now and the passage of the Bill, His Majesty's Government would do everything within their power to remove any obstacles that may at present stand in the way of the Federation coming into being at as early a date as possible. These assurances were given as a declaration publicly made of the course His Majesty's Government have set themselves to follow.

RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA

There is one step of vital importance in connection with the new Constitution with which all of you, gentlemen, as members of the Indian Legislature will be directly concerned. I allude to the setting up of a Reserve Bank. I need not repeat the statements of the Secretary of State in his reported speeches at the Conference on this matter, but you will appreciate from them that it will be necessary to prepare the Reserve Bank Bill during the months which will now intervene before the inauguration of the new Constitution. I trust that we shall find ourselves in accordance with you on all the main conditions necessary for the creation of a sound and independent bank. I hope that it will be possible to make known to you before the end of this session, the programme for the procedure in this matter.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION

So far as the budgetary position is concerned, I do not propose to anticipate the statement to be made in four weeks time by the Finance Member, but as you know important transactions have been proceeding recently as regards the Public Debt, and I think it may be appropriate if I take this occasion to tell you something of my Government's plans and expectations in this field. In all that we are doing now, we have one paramount object in view, and that is to prepare the position for the Indian Government under the new constitution, so that the financial foundations may be sound, and so that the new Government may find itself freed from embarrassments in its

early years. For this purpose, it is particularly important that the large volume of short-term debt maturing over the next few years should be converted into long term securities, so that the new Government may find itself freed from the anxiety of having to meet substantial loan maturities during its early years. A second object of great and immediate importance is to take advantage of the improved credit of India to reduce the rate of interest payable on Government loans. In order to achieve these two objects, we have, ever since the turn of events gave us an opportunity last year, been working according to a carefully planned programme. Since June 1932, we have launched no less than four important loan transactions, three of which have been completed.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT

Communications and transport are of vital importance in the development of every country, but more specially to a country so vast as India. The competition of road and rail transport has produced acute problems in many countries. Although in India these problems are not yet so acute as in some other Continents, it is essential that a properly co-ordinated plan should be prepared if we are to avoid the serious difficulties which are being faced elsewhere. A valuable report on this subject has just been completed for the Government by two expert officers, and we propose, as soon as possible, after the conclusion of this session to hold a Conference at which all the Provincial Governments, the Railway Board, and certain unofficial organisations will be represented. This Conference will deal with questions such as the co-ordinated development of roads and railways, the methods by which such developments may be financed, the taxation of motor transport and other kindred matters. It is a particularly appropriate occasion for the discussion of these questions, because after a long period of restriction in public expenditure, we are now, I hope, approaching times when, aided by the consolidation of our financial position and the improvement of our credit to which I have already referred, and with the prospects of cheap money, we may be able to initiate plans which will not only permanently improve the economic productivity of the country, but in their execution help to set money in circulation, which is so necessary in the present depression.

BILLS

Leave was granted on February 1st to Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, to introduce a Bill to amend the Marine Act with a view to constituting a potential reserve of officers for use in emergencies when the officer strength of the Royal Indian Marine required expansion. The reserve would be open to Europeans, Indians and members of the Domiciled community. Membership would entail a brief period of annual training in one of the State ships.

Mr. Bajpai introduced a Bill to amend the Indian Forest Act, the purpose of which is to extend certain privileges to the Courts of Wards which, for the present, were enjoyed by the owner of any private forest.

Sir Joseph Bhore was given leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Railway Act, the object of which is to provide for punishment if a passenger pulls the alarm chain with the intention of causing obstruction to traffic, by imprisonment up to six months or with a fine or both. The Bill also provides for arrest without warrant or written authority.

M. Mitchell, Legislative Secretary, was given leave to introduce a Bill to amend certain enactments and repeal certain other enactments.

The House next allowed Sir Frank Noyce to introduce his two Bills, one regulating the possession of wireless telegraphy apparatus, and the other regulating the payment of wages to certain classes of persons engaged in

industry, enabling prompter payment of wages to persons receiving less than Rs. 100 monthly.

Temple Entry Bills

On January 23rd H. E. Lord Willingdon refused sanction for the introduction of Dr. Subbaroyan's Temple-Entry Bill in the Madras Legislative Council, but permitted the introduction of Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar's Untouchability Abolition Bill in the Legislative Assembly. The Government emphasise the need for the ascertainment of Hindu opinion before the Government decide what attitude they should adopt.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh, author of the Temple-Entry Bill, who had made a special request to the Government for special facilities in passing the Bill was informed by the Leader of the House that "The Governor-General-in-Council has considered your request for special facilities in passing Temple-Entry Bills. I beg to inform you that the Government are not prepared to make any departure from the normal procedure."

Medical Council Bill

The All-India Medical Council Bill was taken up by the Legislative Assembly, on the motion of Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Education Secretary, on February 13.

"If we are to have an All-India Medical Council, it is advisable that the Council should be complehensive and not restrictive in its scope. The limiting of the register to the higher grade qualified practioners and excluding the largest section of Indian medical practioners, numbering thirty-thousand licentiates, is, in our view, inequitable," stated a memorandum submitted by the Indian Medical Association, which waited on Sir Fazl-i-Hussain on January 30th. There is much ground for objection, quite apart from any question of sentiment. Unfortunately, the Government's action and statement has led to the inference that the real intention is to placate the General Medical Council. They should study the interests of the scores of new men who proceed abroad for medical training, particularly to the United Kingdom. Those who proceed to the United Kingdom in order to graduate, find it difficult to obtain recognition by the General Medical Council. An increasing number of Indian students proceeded to Continental countries, where they are given every encouragement and facilities. If it is thought that to bring licentiates within the scope of the Bill would jeopardise the chances of the recognition of Indian medical degrees by the General Medical Council, the memorandum observes, the interests of thirty thousand medical practitioners are more important than recognition by this British institution.

Mr. Bajpai denied that it was the result of the dictation of the General Medical Council of Britain, and narrated the history of the subject from 1910, when the idea was first mooted. The replies of the Provincial Governments, Mr. Bajpai said suggested that the Bill infringed on provincial autonomy. The result was that the Government of India came to the conclusion that any attempt to co-ordinate the standards of medical education could only be satisfactorily worked if it had the willing support of the Provinces. At this stage, Sir Norman Walker on behalf of the General Medical Council of Great Britain paid a second visit, and suggested that there should be set up a co-ordinating authority which could give some guarantee of uniformity in the standards of education in all the Provinces. The Government of India's proposal to appoint an Inspector for Medical Education did not commend itself to the House. The counter-proposal of the Government to appoint a Board of Inspectors also did not find favour with the British General Medical Council.

The result was that the British Council withdrew recognition from the British Indian Medical qualifications, which placed difficulties on graduates to pursue postgraduate work in England or urgency employment in Malaya or Ceylon. This result gave practical urgency to the problem of establishing an All-India Medical Council, in order to secure reciprocal recognition for medical qualifications obtained in India.

Mr. Bajpai emphasised that Licentiates would be excluded from the scope of the measure in accordance with the opinion of the majority of the Provincial Governments.

Faced with this situation, the Government of India invited representatives from provinces of Universities to a conference in Simla. The conference concluded favouring the establishment of a co-ordinating authority which would negotiate and secure recognition of Indian degrees.

It may be asked why the Simla Conference recommended that the functions of the All-India Council should be limited to graduates and not include medical licentiates. Licentiates are a very numerous and deserving class of practitioners. But there is a real difference between educational standards of the graduates and the Licentiates. We had definitely asked Local Governments whether they wished to include or exclude Licentiates. Seven Local Governments were definitely against it. The Government of India had therefore no option. But Clause 18 of this Bill definitely secures the objective of Licentiates by seeing that there is no bar to their getting into the All-India register under certain conditions. Secondly, there is nothing in the Bill which either deprecates or diminishes privileges which Licentiates at present enjoy.

BALLOT FOR NON-OFFICIAL BILLS.

A ballot for non-official Bills to be introduced on the 2nd February was held on January 18th and the following fourteen Bills secured a place in the ballot:

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill by Mr. Joshi, the Indian Penal Code Amendment Bill by Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar, the Code of Civil Procedure Amendment Bill by Mr. Joshi, the Hindu Widows' Right of Maintenance Bill by Mr. Harbilas Sarda, the Ajmer-Merwara Juvenile Smoking Bill by Mr. Harbilas Sarda, the Hindu Inheritance Amendment Bill by Mr. Harbilas Sarda, the Hindu Widows' Maintenance Bill by Pandit Ramkrishna Jha, the Code of Civil Procedure Bill by Pandit Ramkrishna Jha, the Indian Income-Tax Bill by Pandit Ramkrishna Jha, the Child Marriage Restraint Amendment Bill by Mr. Masood Ahmed, the Child Marriage Restraint Repealing Bill by Mr. Ghuznavi, the Abolition of Capital Punishment Bill by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, the Indian Specific Relief Amendment Bill by Mr. Jagganath Agarwal, and the Code of Criminal Procedure Bill by Mr. M. C. Rajah.

SPECIAL POWERS ACTS

The Government of India introduced a Bill in the Assembly to supplement the provisions of the Special Powers Bills passed by the Provincial Legislatures on the same lines as in the case of the Bengal Terrorist Outrages Act during the last session.

Prohibition of Pledging of Children Labour Bill

Sir Frank Noyce moved on February 1st that the Bill to prohibit the pledging of labour of children as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, who spoke in favour of the measure, agreed that the principle of the Bill was a very sound one. It was no doubt necessary for

poor families to supplement their slender resources by making their children work and supplement by their wages the family earnings, but they should not profit by making children work for long hours and low wages.

Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, speaking in support of the motion, said that he, for one, was very much against the pledging of any kind of labour, and much more, children's labour. But he objected to the proviso relating to agreement, since it was difficult to say who could determine whether a particular agreement was harmful.

Raja Bahadur Krishnamachari opposed the Bill, on the ground that the word "pledging" had not been properly defined, and that the Government were showing false sympathy for protecting Labour without taking into consideration the conditions prevailing in the country.

Sir Frank Noyce was gratified that his original expectations of support had been generally fulfilled. He doubted if there was any room for the doubts and fears expressed by Mr. Krishnamachari.

The House adopted the motion.

Consideration clause by clause was begun, when Mr. Thampan moved that proviso to the definition of the word "agreements" be deleted.

The Assembly passed the Bill without a division.

Mr. Gwynne, on behalf of the Government, assured the House that the penal clauses of the measure would be postponed from coming into operation till such time as certain contracts that might have been in operation were terminated.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION

Mr. Amarnath Dutt, moved on February 1st an adjournment motion to consider a motion of urgent public importance to wit, the impending execution of three persons, who had been involved in the murder of a Bengali at Jamshedpur and who, as a result of a confession on the part of one, which was subsequently retracted, and on other evidence had been condemned to death by the Sessions Judge, which sentences were later confirmed by the High Court at Patna, and whose appeal to the Privy Countil had been rejected, and whose petition for mercy also had been rejected by the Viceroy.

On the evening of the day previous to the execution, one of the condemned men made a statement and declared that it was he alone who was responsible for the murder of the Bengali and that the other two men were innocent. The Superintendent of the Prison at once wired this information to the Local Government at Patna, who however upheld the sentence of death on all the three men and ordered their execution on 3rd February.

The Home Member, in the course of his speech, which was marked by precision and brevity, appealed to the House not to discuss matters of this character. "In fact" declared Sir Harry Haig most solemnly, "the question of examining death sentences was a very grave problem indeed, and caused the Government no small amount of anxiety. I would ask Hon'ble Members to refrain from discussing such questions."

This reply of the Home Member made at once the issue a matter of fundamental importance.

Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy observed that the Government were "indecently" hastening the execution of two perhaps innocent men. It was not merely enough that the Government meted out justice, but it very much mattered how they rendered it too. He was disappointed at the attitude taken up by the Home Member. He and those who were with him did not condemn Sir Harry Haig, but the system which made such

things as these executions possible. After seeing the attitude of the Government, he was convinced of the necessity of the Bill abolishing capital punishment, which was going to be shortly introduced. He, for one, was not interested in the issue as a Mussalman or anything of that kind; but he saw that a question of principle was involved, and he must urge the Government to seriously consider the situation.

THE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN

Sir Harry Haig, opposing the motion, gave the sequence of events. He pointed out that on the 10th October, the Governor-General-in-Council rejected the appeal. The Privy Council rejected the appeal on the 19th December. The 13th January was fixed for the execution. By that time, all the normal processes of the law were exhausted. The day previous to the date of the execution, one of the condemned persons made a statement before the Jail Superintendent who postponed the execution and referred the matter for the orders of the Local Government. The statement of the accused was recorded by a Magistrate. At this stage, a telegraphic request was received from certain members of the House. But the Government of India had discharged their duty in October when they rejected the appeal for mercy. The matter rested with the Local Government. No petition was before the Government of India. In fact, the Government of India had since heard that the petition submitted to the Local Government was, in the normal course, withheld. The matter was no longer one primarily concerning the Governor-General-in-Council. And, as the President also was not in Delhi, he thought it simpler to intimate to the members giving short-notice questions of his reluctance to accept them. Still, the Government of India telegraphed to the Local Government for a report. The report had been examined by the Government of India. The Local Government held that the last statement of one of the accused did not materially affect the situation. The Government of India agreed in this conclusion.

Mr. Neogy said that the House was not pleading for mercy, but felt that the present case was one that was not covered by any procedure of law or any case law in any country. This House must know whether there was any lacuna in the procedure, and this was the best forum to discuss such a matter. The Privy Council always avoided interference, as it was not a criminal court of appeal. He maintained that the Government were proceeding with undue precipitancy as the confession was made on the 15th January. Statements made by the Civil Surgeon and the Assistant Jailor showed that Bhawani was innocent.

The debate was talked out.

Hindu Marriages Dissolution Bill

Sir H. S. Gour's Hindu Marriages Dissolution Bill came up on February 2nd.

Bhai Permanand and Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar thought that the time had not come to usher in such a drastic legislation. Mr. A. Hoon (U.P.) challenged the very grounds on which Hindu marriages were celebrated. Mr Lalchand Navalrai wanted "impotency" or "imbecility" to be defined. Pandit Jha declared that Sir H. S. Gour's commonsense view was not to be confused with the legal view of the whole question. Pandit Sen declared that the whole thing was an absurd interpretation of the Shastras.

The votes recorded when the motion for leave was pressed to a division were twelve for the Bill and eleven against.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, said that he could not possibly understand the meaning of the word "sacrament" when the Hindu wife was all the time

being sacrificed and the husband was allowed to do as he chose. It was a most humane measure he was asking the House to refer to a select committee. He had reasons to hope that enlightened Hindu opinion would rally round him. Let them not forget that at Lucknow, at Madras and trom other places the cry of women had been raised. Let them as men and as befitting themselves be worthy of the trust their women had reposed in them, and never for a moment forget that they must advance not only politically, but socially as well.

Mr. Raju had generally speaking, no objection to the principle of the Bill, but he would, most certainly, plead for a consolidated measure. It appeared to him that the Hindu Law was like a big ocean and any inroads or sailing on it had to be done with a certain amount of caution. It was no use, introducing difficulties where there were none. It seemed to him that if that measure, as it stood, was passed Hindu women would lose the right of maintenance and their condition would become perhaps worse and more pitiable.

Sir Hari Singh Gour moved on February 14th for reference to a Select Committee of the Bill. The Bill, he said, provided a much-needed social reform, and was of a humane nature. There was life and vigour in Hinduism to adapt itself to changing conditions, and he was sure that the change proposed would be accepted by the House as it was necessitated by modern conditions. The opposition to the measure was based on the notion of sacrament. To-day in Hindu society a woman was sacrificed, and a man could marry any number of time irrespective of her opposition.

Mr. Sitaramraju opposed the motion for Select Committee. He wanted recirculation of the Bill especially because Madras, which was the stronghold of orthodoxy, had not expressed its opinion on the measure. Public opinion, he said, was as much opposed to the measure as it was when the Bill was first introduced in 1928. He requested Sir Hari Singh Gour to withdraw the Bill and bring in a consolidated measure.

Sir Joseph Bhore, on behalf of the Government, stated that they would not take any part in the debate nor express their opinions on the Bill.

The House accepted Sir Hari Singh Gour's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee by 12 votes to 11.

Salaries Cut Restoration

The Government's action in restoring half of the salaries cut, without consulting the Assembly, found on February 6th in Sardar Sant Singh (Punjab)) a very stern critic, who moved for an adjournment of the House to discuss the issue after question time.

When the Sardar asked why they should not be allowed to have a say where expenditure was concerned, when they were asked to vote further taxation, the Government had next to nothing to say in reply. The point of the Sirdar went home all right, although the Law Member, Sir B. L. Mitter, opposed it at the outset, on the ground that there was neither urgency nor public importance in the motion for adjournment.

Sir Hari Singh Gour asked if it was not the privilege of the House that had been more or less abused by the Government in not even consulting it as to the steps they took when they announced the reduction in the cut. He could not agree with the Law Member that the matter was not of supreme urgency.

It was an embarrassing situation for the Government. But help came through the Deputy President, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, who ruled the

motion as being out of order on the ground that the case for the urgency had not been made out.

ROAD-RAIL COMPETITION

On February 6th Government moved a Bill to amend the existing Railway Act, for co-ordinating road and rail transport, and for State-owned railways to have facilities by which they could run or utilise other means of transport.

Mr. B. M. Jadhav, ex-Minister of Bombay, was unassailable when he brought to the notice of the House, the kind of policy that had been followed in the alignment of railway lines. He said that it was this kind of attitude that had made the motor bus so formidable a competitor to railways in India. As an instance in point, he described the M. and S. M. Railway route between Poona and Bangalore and pointed out how every railway station on that line passed through the most unproductive of areas and each station, like Saswad Road, Satara Road, Gokak Road and so forth. The towns served by this railway were miles and miles away and it was no wonder bus services were started to connect these towns and in so doing bus transport acted only as feeder lines.

On being assured by the Commerce Member that road and rail transport would become complementary and not competitative, and would be subject to the same taxation to which private-owned buses were subject, the Bill was accepted.

Land Acquisition Bill

Sir Frank Noyce moved on February 6th for reference to a select committee of the Land Acquisition Amendment Act, which motion was adopted.

Auxilliary Forces Bill

Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, moved on 6th February reference to a Select Committee of the Auxiliary Force Amendment Act. The Bill, he said, provided that persons subject to the Act shall be divided into only two classes, active class and reserve, and empowered the competent military authority to determine periods of training to be undergone, with the reservation that no such persons shall be required to undergo more training than that to which he was liable under the existing law. The Bill was also intended to remove statutory restriction, under which only persons residing in prescribed military areas were eligible for enrolment.

The motion was adopted.

Bill to Amend Forest Act

The Bill to amend the Indian Forest Act of 1827, whereby the Court of Wards would be vested with the same powers as a private individual who is allowed to represent his desire that certain sections of the Act be made applicable to his forest or that it should be managed by the expert agency of the Forest Department of the Government of India as a reserved or protected forest on such terms as may be mutually agreed upon, raised considerable protest on February 7th from two members from Madras, Messrs. Thampan and Reddi. They said that it was not fair that the Court of Wards should be given such vast privileges. They detailed the instances where the Government was accustomed to lease large forests from private landowners on the Malabar Coast.

Mr. Bajpai replied that it was not so. The Government had already taken the precaution of consulting the local Governments concerned. The Bill was not contentious.

The House passed the Bill.

Marine Volunteer Reserve Bill

Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, moving on February 7th that the Indian Marines Amendment Act be taken into consideration, said that the object of the Bill was to provide an opportunity for Marine Service on a valuntary basis to those persons in India who were interested in nautical pursuits, and at the same time to constitute a potential reserve of officers for use in emergencies when the officer strength of the Royal Indian Marine would require expansion. Under the Bill, it was proposed to organise a small Royal Indian Marine Volunteer Reserve, open to Europeans and Indians and members of the Domiciled community. Membership would entail a brief annual training on ships, besides instruction on shore. The Army Secretary said that it was a simple and straightforward measure, and was of practical importance. The expenditure involved was small.

The Bill was passed.

South Indian Infantry Battalions

The House proceeded on February 8 with the discussion of the following resolution of Mr. B. V. Jadhav, moved on 22nd September last: "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that the South Indian Infantry Battalions be again raised in the Madras and Bombay presidencies."

The Army Secretary, Mr. Tottenham, said that the Government were fully aware of the distinguished record of those battalions, but financial considerations had first to be considered, and not mere sentiment in dealing with cases like this. Besides, the army in India had to follow the policy laid down by Lord Kitchener during the War, as a result of whose recommendations certain essential changes had to be made in the centralisation and organisation of the Indian army. He refuted the idea that Government made any kind of political distinction in getting recruits. The Army wanted the best men.

In the end, the Army Secretary announced that in the proposed Indian Artillery, at least one battalion will be thrown open to Madrasis and the remaining two to other men, perhaps Bengalis, Mahrattas and others, which announcement was received with cheers by the House.

Bill To Amend Indian Limitation Act

On February 9th Sardar Sant Singh pleading for amending the Indian Limitation Act, by which he proposed that the period of limitation of suits governed by the Act, viz., three years, be extended to six years. The Sardar added that the schedule mentioned by him would not be applicable to clients of lawyers.

Sir Hari Singh, in opposing the Sardar, declared if they were to compel the debtor to pay his debts in the course of or at the end of six years, they would make his difficulties still greater. They were all affected by the enormous economic depression prevailing over the country, but he thought he would be failing in his duty, if he did not tell them that by such actions as they contemplated, they would be helping the creditor and making the position of the debtor pitiable.

Sir B. L. Mitter, said that whether it was six years or ten years, any creditor could have cause of action any time when his debts fell due, and it was his will and pleasure to get back the money due to him. The object in making the period three years was because they wanted to put a check on the enormous volume of litigation in a country. The documents in India were liable to natural destruction much quicker than in other countries and keeping them secure for long periods was really a problem.

The Bill was rejected ultimately.

Measures To Amend Criminal Procedure

A Bill to amend the existing Criminal Procedure Code was moved by Sardar Sant Singh on February 9th. He declared, that Sections 30 and 34 of the Code of Criminal Procedure were anomalous in their application to the Non-Regulation provinces and instanced many cases where District Magistrates in the Punjab, he alleged, had not been fair to the accused persons and, that such an anomaly should be removed by making the law of uniform application. He also said that Section 103 was a dead letter, and pleaded for the omission of Section 30.

Before further consideration of Sardar Sant Singh's select committee motion on the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Act was taken up, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, on behalf of Sardar Sant Singh, who was absent, moved for the withdrawal of the Bill altogether.

The President pointed out that the Bill was already in the hands of the House, and it could not be withdrawn without the House agreeing to it.

As an alternative, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai moved that the question be now put.

Mr. Joshi moved that further consideration of the measure be postponed till the Simla session.

Mr. K. Myint supported the motion.

Sir B. L. Mitter, on behalf of the Government, stated that if it be the wish of the House that further consideration of the Bill should be adjourned, then the Government had no desire to stand in the way. He stated that the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill was a very important one, and had already been debated considerably. Instead of postponing it, he would advise the House to cut short the debate and dispose of it as quickly as possible.

The House divided, and Mr. Joshi's motion for adjournment of Mr. Sant Singh's Bill was carried by 29 against 23 votes.

Khadi Protection Bill

Mr. Gaya Prasad's Bill to protect Khaddar and Khadi was circulated on Sir Joseph Bhore's motion on February 9th for eliciting opinion by the 31st July.

The mover explained the non-contentious character of the legislation, which provided for protection of the names "Khaddar" and "Khadi," used as a trade description for cloth spun and woven by hand in India. He explained the situation, by saying that the khaddar movement was being sought to be taken advantage of by the manufacturers of spurious khaddar, both in India and abroad, and purchasers had been frequently misled to the detriment of what might easily become a great national industry.

Protection for Hosiery

Sir Joseph Bhore told Mr. Rameshwar Bagla, regarding the grant of protection to the Indian hosiery industry, that the value of the Yen in terms of the rupee had certainly fallen since Japan went off the gold standard, but it was an exaggeration to say that it had been unceasingly

falling every day. The claim of the hosiery industry for protection was examined by the Tariff Board as part of its recent enquiry into the question of protection for the Indian cotton textile industry. The Board's report had been received by the Government of India, and was still under consideration Until this was completed and a decision was taken, the Government were not in a position to make any announcement on the subject.

Wages Regulation Bill

Sir Frank Noyce, moving for reference of his Bill to a Select Committee, said that the Bill was intended to regulate the payment of wages. The said question was raised formerly through private Bills, but subsequently they were withdrawn on the understanding that the Government would take steps after holding an enquiry The Labour Commission investigated the question thoroughly, and their recommendations were available to the members. The investigations revealed the existence of abuses. The Bill was based on the conclusions arrived at by the Government of India after a reexamination of the question in the light of the Labour Commission's report The main object of the Bill was to secure that wages should ordinarily be paid within seven days of the expiry of the period within which they were earned It was proposed that persons contravening the provisions of the Act should be liable to prosecution, but that the prosecution should only be maintainable after a successful claim for refund had been preferred.

Income-Tax Act Amendment

Sir George Schuster moved on February 14th for the appointment of a Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Income-Tax Act

Sir George Schuster said that the Bill was not as ambitious a measure as that discussed last year, regarding tax on income wherever and however earned in foreign countries. The House by a majority had refused to let that Bill go to a Select Committee, the Finance Member assured the House that the Government were not seeking to impose as additional burden on the tax-payer The present measure would result in a more equitable distribution of taxation without increasing it. Similar legislation was already existing in England.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir said the Bill aimed at taxing capital and not income. If this was the intention of the Government, then, he asked why they should not adopt Communist principles and seize all capital. He feared that if the amounts were brought into India, even twenty years after investment, they would be liable to super-tax. He, however, saw no objection to allowing the Bill to go to a Select Committee, but it should be open to the House to move any amendment.

Raja Bahadur Krishnamachari opposed the Bill, because, even agricultural income that accrued in an Indian State would come within the scope of this legislation. The first principle on which the income-tax law was based was exemption of agricultural income, but if taxation was now imposed, it would mean double-taxation. He hoped a proper remedv would be found in the Select Committee.

Mr. Ramkrishna Reddi held that rich people were comparatively lightly taxed. He hoped the Finance Member would agree to the exemption of agricultural income. Replying to Sir Cowasji, regarding foreign capital, Mr. Reddi maintained that it had been the tendency of capitalists always to treat income as capital in order to escape taxation. Therefore capital must be taxed. In his opinion, the measure would help the circulation of capital.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, maintained that ten years' experience had shown that the whole system of income-tax law required radical overhauling. He

characterised the Bill as mischievous and ill-conceived. The policy pursued by the Finance Member through the Bill would strangulate Indian industries by preventing the inflow of capital which was so necessary for agriculture as well as for industries.

Mr. Mackenzie wanted an assurance that the money which had accrued prior to passing of this Bill, would be exempt from taxation, provided it was brought into British India within three years after the passing of the Bill. He supported reference to a select committee of the Bill, reserving an open mind in respect of any amendment after the Bill had emerged from the Select Committee.

Mr. S. C. Sen, supporting the measure, pointed out that there was already provision in the income-tax law for taxing foreign incomes derived from business. The Bill merely sought to extend that provision to investments outside British India. He thought that there would be no difficulty in differentiating capital from income. As regards agricultural income, he recalled the Finance Member's speech on the last occasion, and hoped that a solution would be found in the select committee.

Sir George Schuster, replying to the debate, dismissed most of the arguments of Sir Hari Sing Gour as irrelevant. The only change, so far as business profits were concerned, which would be made in the Bill was in respect of the period within which profits would be treated as profits. As for the complaint of piece-meal legislation, the Finance Member regretted that want of time had prevented the Government from effecting a fundamental revision of the income-tax law. Regarding Mr. Harbilas Sarda's fears concerning business carried on in the States, the Finance Member assured the House that such income would not be liable to taxation in British India, except, of course, to the extent that profits made outside were actually remitted to British India. The arguments of the inadvisability of the measure on the eve of Constitutional Reforms, would not apply to the present case. Further, the whole question of income-tax and the new Constitution were still under consideration. As regards the question of agricultural income, Sir George Schuster pointed out that in the existing law, agricultural income, if remitted to British India, was subjected to tax. He was quite prepared to consider any point on the subject, but at present he did not understand exactly what was wanted. As for the argument of Sir Cowasji about accumulated capital in foreign countries, the Finance Member said that the only remedy lay in not allowing profit to accumulate, but to remit them to India annually. Replying to Mr. Mackenzie's point about profits earned before the passing of the Bill, Sir George Schuster agreed that it was reasonable as it was difficult to ascertain receipts in the past. He thought that it would be possible for the Government to meet this point.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, without a division.

Cost of Indian Delegation To Joint Committee

The Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly under the chairmanship of Sir George Schuster, sanctioned Rs. 2,13,700 during the next financial year in connection with the Indian delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It is understood that a strong opposition was voiced by some non-official members to this sanction being granted as they felt that sending delegates to the Jt.-Parliamentary Committee without having any independent status and who at best would merely serve as assessors or witnesses was a sheer waste of money. Moreover it was pointed out that as the Indian Delegation was going to assist the British Parliament the expense should properly be borne by the British Exchequer.

Cost of Delhi Conspiracy Case

Another important question that was discussed and ultimately approved of was the additional grant for Rs. 68,383 in respect of trial of some accused in the Delhi Conspiracy case. Some non-official members, it is understood, pressed for engaging counsel for the accused but Government made it clear that Counsel was allowed by the State only in cases involving capital punishment.

Extension of Term of Tariff Board

The extension of the term of the Tariff Board necessitated a provision for Rs. 204600 which the Committee agreed to. Another question discussed was with regard to the expense of about Rs. 20,000 asked by the political Department for transfer of some Bombay and Central Indian States to the direct centre of the Government of India. While sanctioning the grant the Committee opined that as far as the Bombay States were concerned two Agencies, one at Kolhapur and other at Baroda should be established.

THE INDIAN BUDGET

	In Crores of Rupees		
	1931-32 Accounts	1932-33 Revised	1933-34 Budget
Revenue	121.64	127.13	124.52
Expenditure	133.39	124.96	124.10
Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	—11.75	+2.17	+.42

Proposals for 1933-34

The following is the text of the Finance Member's speech introducing the Budget on February 28.

The general features of the economic position are so well-known, and so closely resemble those which I had to describe last year that I need not deal with them at length. Again, as last year, I can say that the monsoon was fairly normal for India as a whole, and that so far as climatic conditions are concerned India might have been enjoying a year of normal prosperity. Again, as last year, I can say that world economic conditions have been the overriding factor, and that India's trade and purchasing power have been suffering from the terribly low level to which prices and demand for commodities have declined. In the latter respect the current year has touched still lower depths. Last year it seemed reasonable to hope that a move would be made to settle the world troubles and that with the detachment of sterling from gold we might see a substantial rise in prices for commodities at least in terms of sterling and of the currencies linked with sterling. Unfortunately neither of these hopes has been realised. A good start was made at the Lausanne Conference in June, and the provisional agreement then achieved, which would have resulted in the removal of the disturbing factor of Reparation payments, spread at the time a feeling of justifiable optimism. But unfortunately the possibility of executing this agreement depends on the balancing cancellation of war debts, and for this problem there is no solution yet in sight. Indeed, except among the nations of the British Commonwealth, for which within their own area the Ottawa Agreement holds out hopes of improvement, there has been no advance towards that international co-operation which is so badly needed; and for the world in general it is unfortunately true to say that there has been not only no

quickening up of the normal flow of trade but on the contrary the restrictions which so many countries have been forced to impose on trade and exchange in order to maintain their balance of payments have operated still further to check the international exchange of goods. As regards prices, the anticipated rise in rupee and sterling prices has not materialised. The position, broadly speaking, is that, after an initial rise, prices towards the end of the period under review showed again a falling tendency, with the result that although the average level of prices on the basis of which India's exports during 1932 were sold is slightly higher than during 1931, the general level of prices at the end of the year had fallen below this average. The most that one can say is that countries with currencies linked to sterling have fared much better than those which are still on a gold basis.

Balance of International Payments

I have already commented on what is the worst feature of the present world situation, namely that practically every nation to-day in order to preserve its balance of international payments has been forced to put artificial restrictions on its imports, by way of high duties and exchange restrictions. This is checking the flow of international trade, so that its channels are gradually becoming completely dry, and is the main evil from which the world to-day is suffering. We ourselves by increasing our own import duties have done something to add to the evil, but if the flow of imports into India had not been helped by the exports of gold the case would have been very much worse. India in fact has been able to release into the world a commodity for which alone there is an undiminished market and the possession of which, if it is used as a basis for currency, does not diminish but rather increases which absorb it. By doing so India has been enabled to take more imports and thereby in this second way also to increase the purchasing power of her own potential customers. This last point indeed must always be borne in mind, for we cannot restrict our own imports without weakening the market for our exports of merchandise.

There is still a third point on the credit side of the account to which I must call attention. The proceeds of the gold which have been sold have only to a limited extent been balanced by the purchase of consumable commodities. A great portion has undoubtedly been invested. The increased demand for Government securities affords general evidence of this, and that the process has been widespread and not confined to the richer classes can be very clearly seen from the figures of Post Office cash certificates and Savings Bank deposits. The figures here are most striking. Making very conservative allowances for what we shall get in the last two months of the year, we estimate the net investment in Post Office cash certificates this year at 10 crores and the net addition to savings bank deposits at 4.35 crores. Both these figures greatly exceed any previous record, and I may point out that the figure of 10 crores for Post Office cash certificates compares with average net receipts of doubt 2¾ cores annually for the period from 1917, when these certificates were first started until March 31, 1931. Moreover the high figure for this year follows on the exceptionally high figure of 6.15 crores for net receipts last year. These figures therefore clearly show that proceeds of gold sales have been converted into investment by the poorer classes, and although the Indian habit of accumulating reserves of gold has stood the country in good stead in the present crisis, I feel forced to regard it as a beneficial advance that the exceptionally high price of gold in rupees should have started a process of exchanging barren gold reserves for interest-bearing Government securities as a form of investment.

Exports of Gold

In this period of fifteen months, India on balance exported 107.08 crores of gold. We may thus take it that private individuals during this period acquired out of the proceeds of gold exports balances in external currency, probably mainly in sterling to the extent of £80 ⅓ millions. During this same period exports of merchandise were 181.37 crores and imports 161.45 crores, giving a favourable balance of 19.92 crores equivalent to say, £ 15 millions. This sum also may be taken as having been converted into external currency balances by private individuals. Adding this £15 millions acquired against merchandise to the total of £80 ⅓rd millions acquired against gold exports, the total external balances acquired by private individuals from October 1, 1931, to December 31, 1932 amount to £ 95 ⅓rd millions. Out of this sum Government has acquired by its purchases in the market as currency authority no less than £69 ⅔rds millions.

The balance of £25 ⅔rds millions has been retained on private account.

Gain to Private Individuals

I now turn to consider the sum of £25 ⅔rds millions which, must be regarded as having been retained by private individuals out of the total proceeds of gold exports and the balance of trade in merchandise. What has happened to this money? In the first place, as Honourable Members are well aware, a substantial proportion of the external currency derived from the sale of Indian exports abroad is always retained on private account. The amount required is influenced by two factors, first normal current requirements, and secondly, movements of capital. The normal current requirements are for such things as sea freights, interest and dividends on investments in India held abroad, family remittances, money spent abroad by travellers from India, etc., etc. The movements of capital may be either transfer of funds for permanent investment by private individuals, or the movement of funds by banks for temporary investment in treasury bills, etc. These movements of capital may of course take place either towards or away from India, and therefore either reduce or swell the amount required to meet current requirements. The annual reports of the Controller of the Currency always give clear figures and explanations on this point and I would refer Honourable Members to them. I cannot within the limits of this speech attempt any full examination of this matter, but from the investigations of the Controller of the Currency it appears to be a fairly accurate estimate to say that in the 15 months with which I am dealing about Rs. 15 crores or £ 11¼ millions was required for the repayment of money invested in Indian treasury bills by foreign banks, and that the balance of about £14 millions was required to meet normal current requirements. The repayment of the treasury bills of course, represents a strengthening of the Indian position.

Looking at the matter from the side of the Indians who have sold the gold they have acquired 107½ crores of rupees and of this, while a portion has been spent in meeting current requirements (i.e., paying customs duty of imported goods and other taxes), a very substantial portion also, as is clear from the figures which I have given, must have been retained in currency or invested in Government securities.

If Gold Exports had been Banned

I am left to explain what would have happened to the balance of £ 25⅔ millions retained on private account, or rather the £10 millions out of this sum which represents the proceeds of gold exports; for it is this sum which

our critics say we should have secured to ourselves if we had purchased the gold and which by our actual policy we have lost. But should we have been able to retain it? Certainly not. This balance was needed for the purposes which I have explained, and if we had bought the gold for rupees, the private remitters would then have come to us, as the currency authority, and demanded that we in accordance with our statutory obligation, should sell sterling to them. We could not under the existing law have refused to do so, and in that case we should have had to use the gold which we had acquired in order to buy sterling to meet our obligation, and thus would have found ourselves in precisely the same position as we are to-day. We could only have refused to sell the gold in two ways. Either we should have had to get a law passed to relieve us of our statutory obligation, in which case who would venture to prophesy what would have happened to the sterling value of the rupee? Or, as an alternative, we should have had to pass a law putting a rigid restriction on all exchange transactions, which would have been a gross and unnecessary interference with the liberty of private individuals to deal with their own property, and would necessarily have led to a very serious restrictions of imports.

Either of these alternatives would have been very serious steps, which might have had far-reaching and dangerous effects on our position. Those who criticise our policy as regards gold must first be very sure in their own minds whether they would have welcomed them.

DISCUSSION

Sir Abdur Rahim, speaking on March 3rd on the Budget, said "that the test of national prosperity was not investment by some people in Government securities, but how the country's resources were being developed. The military expenditure should have been reduced by six crores this year. Sir George Schuster had made an excellent speech at Ottawa showing how the Army swallowed up Indian revenue. I want to remind him of that speech, and shall ask him to concentrate his effort in reducing further and to a substantial extent the Army expenditure."

The speaker referred to Sir George Schuster's remark that the Indian masses had kept up the standard of consumption of such commodities as cotton piecegoods, kerosine and salt, and declared that considering the huge increase of the population, this was not a test of the people's solvency. He asked: Do you not see that every village in Europe is electrified, and our people are still dependent on kerosine lamps. Where is the progress ?

As regards gold, the Finance Member had said that gold could not be eaten. Why was England purchasing gold ? Why were European countries collecting it Sir Abdur Rahim proceeded, "I cannot agree with Sir Leslie Hudson's suggestion for an export duty on gold without knowing what effect it would have. It might result in making poor people get less for their distress gold."

Sir Abdur Rahim asked why was it that sterling loans raised at five and six per cent in England were not being paid off by floating a conversion scheme there. The reason for higher investment in the post office and Savings Bank was not prosperity, but lack of commercial and industrial activity. A man with a small capital had no other scope for investment.

As regards capital expenditure, Sir Abdur Rahim did not agree with Sir Leslie Hudson that it should be invested in Railways and asked: "Are Railways productive ?" Sir Abdur Rahim, continuing, said that Governments in other countries in their budget statements had made a chief feature of the unemployment situation. "Here we have a speech of forty pages, and not one word on employment."

Mr. Yamin Khan drew the attention of the Finance Member to the plight of the hand-loom industry, which was practically at a standstill, while the country imported a large quantity of cotton goods for which they paid a high import duty. The immediate need of the country was to find employment for the village-weavers. He did not deny that there were certain ugly features in the budget and that India was not advancing on the right lines. Referring to the drain of India's wealth in purchasing motor cars, he suggested the building up of a motor industry by capitalists in India. He hoped that, within a few years, sufficient number of sugar plants would be established and India become self-sufficient in respect of her sugar requirements. As for jute, which was the sole monopoly of India, he wondered why prices had gone down, and hoped that the Government would see their way to improve the lot of the jute-growers. India could not afford a high postage duty, and before restoring the pay "cuts", the Government ought to have considered this point.

One-sided Picture

Mr. Mody felt that the Budget was very uninspiring, with a one-sided picture of the high credit and healthy financial position of India. There was with high exports of gold, a high level of taxation and a fall in Indian exports, a position as unhealthy as possible. The speaker asserted that the flow of gold commenced even before England went off the Gold Standard. Another unhealthy sign of Indian finances, was that the Government relied too much on Customs revenues, the returns from which on several commodities should dwindle down to nothing. In this category, he included textiles and sugar. Regarding imports of raw cotton Mr. Mody said that the position would remain very much the same as long as high grade long-stapled cotton was not produced in the country. But imports of American cotton were likely to fall if an adequate supply of good staple Indian cotton was available this year. Mr. Mody did not approve of the way in which retrenchment was carried out by the Government, who, at a time of high unemployment, had thrown thousands on the street. The only way, he said, of keeping the financial position of India sound was to keep the salary bill as low as possible and to have further prunings in the Army expenditure. Salaries, he said, were high in India, and out of proportion to the resources of the country. Mr. Mody welcomed the duty on artificial silk. Mr. Mody, however, pleaded equalisation of the duty on pure silk and mixtures and also a reduction of the duty on motor cars, in respect of which, he asserted the law of diminishing returns had begun to operate. In conclusion, he protested against the reimposition of the duty on cheques, which, he said, would do great harm to banking development.

"A Status Quo Budget"

Sir Cawasji Jehangir said that it was a status quo budget and meant an extension of the emergency budget. When he budgeted last year for two crores surplus, Sir George Schuster took 10 per cent off the salaries. Now, when he had only Rs. 42 lakhs surplus, what justification had he for returning to five per cent ? The speaker further emphasised that whenever relief was given it must first be given to the poor men drawing salaries between Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 per annum.

Conversion Operations

Mr. Mudaliar alluded to the conversion operations undertaken in England recently, and asked whether the Finance Member had been diligent enough to see that India's sterling debt received a share of the benefit of that scheme. If the people were now prepared to invest at four per cent in England or two per cent in India, that only showed the paralysis that had overtaken

industry as a whole. Referring to the provision made in the current year and in the next year for meeting war debts, Mr. Mudaliar asked where was the need for making this provision, when there was no knowing whether England should demand it this year or next year, and when there was every prospect of Australia, South Africa and Canada either not paying or expressing that inability to pay debts. On whose authority did the Finance Member make this provision ? Was it at the instance of the Secretary of State ? Disclaiming any intention to repudiate the debt in question, Mr. Mudaliar emphatically objected to this provision this year, and demanded light on the matter. He then referred to the fact that the Bombay Government had raised a duty on tobacco, and recalled the fact that two years ago, there was a proposal to consult the Provincial Governments on the question of the Central Government levying a duty on tobacco. He asked what had happened to that move Why was no action taken? And why was the Bombay Government now allowed to raise a duty, especially as this duty was to form part of the Central Government's taxation under the Federal Constitution?

European Group Leader's Views.

Sir Leslie Hudson, Leader of the European Group, hoped that the Finance Member had not painted in too rosy a colour the picture of India's trade figures. Under the present conditions, gold had become a commodity. Why then was Sir George Schuster disinclined to impose a small export tax on gold, which would provide the country with money to restore the whole of the services "cut" and provide relief to the tax-payer?

While welcoming the removal of the discrimination in the matter of the incidence of taxation in favour of the Services, the speaker said that he would have welcomed a word of sympathy for the numerous subjects—both Europepan and Indian—who had been the victims of the emergency tax and who had undergone a "cut" in salaries even up to fifty centum and above.

Sir Leslie endorsed Sir George Schuster's observations about the sugar industry, and suggested that an excise duty thereon would be agreed to by impartial people.

While complimenting the departments for the manner in which they tackled the distasteful process of retrenchment he asked whether there was not the possibility of a reduction in military expenditure without loss of efficiency. He criticised the reimposition of the duty on cheques as another tax on trade. As regards Government policy not to borrow for capital expenditure, he asked the Government not to act with a niggardly hand, but to spend wisely and give an impetus to industries in this country. He continued: "There are persistent rumours that Railways are in need of rolling stock, that if a rush of traffic were happily to occur there would not be enough wagons to haul the crops." Lastly, the speaker appealed to the Finance Member to consider the remission of the export duty on hides for the sake of the Indian hide trade.

Country Has Suffered

Dr. Ziauddin complained that the country as a whole had suffered, while public finance was held by the Finance Member to be good and the position of the investing public safe. If there had been an increase in imports, it had to be met by the export of gold. At the same time, nothing had been done to help Indian industries as was done in South Africa. The export of gold should have been utilised to reduce India's sterling obligations. If this had been done, some amount of the interest charges would have been reduced.

Referring to the situation resulting from the import duty on wheat, Dr. Ziauddin suggested the establishment of some machinery, as a result of the proposed economic survey, whereby the middlemen's profit could be reduced, and the proceeds could go to landlord and the tenant. Proceeding, Dr. Ziauddin alluded to the position of railway finances and wanted complete separation of railway finance, so that railways might be in a position to borrow on their own credit at rates which he believed would be even lower than the rates at which the Government of India could raise loans.

Protecting Government Servants

Mr. Rameswarprasad Bagla did not think it an exaggeration to say that the main interest of the Finance Member had been to protect the interest of the Government servants, and not that of the people. Mr. Bagla stated, without fear of contradiction, that people were being crushed under the heavy income-tax and super-tax. The first relief by the Government should be given to the users of postal stamps. The speaker pleaded for adequate protection to the cotton piece-goods industry including hosiery, which, he said, was in imminent danger of a total collapse. He criticised the military expenditure, and said that the forthcoming Federal constitution would be unworkable without its reduction. He pleaded for prohibition of the export of gold.

A Warning

Mr. Jadhav warned the Government against the worst time ahead, because of depleted and depreciated condition of the ryots, caused by the phenomenal export of gold. All the gold which had left the shores of India had done little to improve Industry. Of course, it helped to strengthen the Government's financial position, but the condition of the peasants who formed the bulk of the population had gone from bad to worse. The apparent prosperity of the Government was only an illusion. Government service had been made unnecessarily attractive, with the result that young men entirely neglected trade and industry. He maintained that the cost of the portion of the Army which was purely maintained for Imperial purposes, should be borne by the Empire, and India should be completely freed from war-debts. Though the political situation showed apparent signs of improvement, the economic condition would not really improve unless the Government changed their angle of vision, and acted with more consideration and moderation.

Sound Finance

On March 15th, Sir Abdur Rahim said that the debate on the Finance Bill for a number of years had had the same features. He wished to find out what Sir George Schuster meant by sound finance. Did it consist of merely finding money for the expenditure of the Government and balancing the budget annually? He answered "I feel that Sir George Schuster must think of something else than merely balancing the Budget. He must think of increasing the productive power of the country, for the position is steadily growing worse."

Referring to the public debt of India, Sir Abdur Rahim wanted the Finance Member to state if there was any likelihood of India being relieved of the burden, or if she would ever be a debtor country to Great Britain, and pay enormous sums every year. Additional loans were mostly devoted to Railways, the revenues from which were dwindling and the depreciation fund had been reduced to practically nothing. In this connection Sir Abdur Rahim said that the Government should not have a narrow outlook regarding productive expenditure. They should have the interests of the

country at large in view, and should improve the productive capacity of the people.

Bleeding India White

Mr. Ghuznavi said that the cost of reaching a budgetary equilibrium through high taxation had bled India white, and had adversely affected all trades. He enquired how long the Government proposed to pursue the policy of maintaining the high taxation. The speaker said that Government would be well advised to put their house in order by making adequate savings in the defence and Railway budgets. He would not be satisfied with a saving of six crores as advocated by Sir Abdur Rahim but urged that there was greater room for economy in defence. As regards Railways, he pleaded for a combination and amalgamation of railways like the E. I. and E. B. Railways, the closing down of second-class collieries by judicious purchases of coal and the institution of efficient control over the purchase of stores.

Principle of Taxation

Sir Hari Singh Gour pleaded for the enunciation of a principle of taxation which would be in keeping with the development of the condition of the people, and the industries of India and, not on the mere English model. He said that if he were Finance Member, he would introduce a five-year plan to industrialise and intensify industries and suggested for an embargo on the export of gold.

Protection Against Dumping

Mr Rameswar Prasad Bagla calling Sir George Schuster as 'Surcharge' Schuster, was dismayed at the non-removal of the surcharges on the groaning tax-payer. The law of diminishing returns was already operating. As a businessman, he strongly advocated high tariffs against Japanese dumping. Despite the Ottawa Agreement, India's export had not increased in tobacco, tea, wheat, cotton jute or rice. The Finance Member would do well to devise means to increase the earning power of the masses. Calling Railways a white elephant, the speaker visualised greater depression in the near future, and warned the Government that there would be no gold left to them to be exported to keep up the credit of the Government of India.

Real Economy

Captain Lalchand said that the Finance Member's position was peculiar. He was expected to increase expenditure in all directions and to remit taxation in all directions He asked those who advocated raising of the lower taxation limit to incomes of Rs. 2,000 to plead in the same breath for the relief of the burden on the petty peasant The real method of economy was to cut down the salaries of Indians in various services, while paying Europeans higher as they were experts. He held that it did not lie in the mouth of the Opposition to criticise the Finance Member now, when they had voted the demands for grants without a cut.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER'S REPLY

Sir George Schuster replying to the debate on the Finance Bill, said that the figures he had quoted, showed that there had been no restriction on the consumption of commodities and that in the main the poor cultivator had been able to maintain his purchases by refraining from paying rent and interest and incurring further debts. As to the argument that any one, who might be responsible for running the machinery of the administration of India, ought to have given special attention to the question of agricultural indebtedness, the Finance Member said that for the present they, who were

now responsible for the financial administration of the country, could not deviate from their course. Their one aim to-day was to preserve the financial existence of the country and keep the ship floating. Sir George Schuster said that in that respect, he differed from his critics who asserted that he should take a risk. He, on the other hand, held that the situation required the continuance of the emergency measures.

Sir George Schuster, replying to some of the points made said that he could not tell where the position stood, but assured the House that it was in the forefront of his mind. As regards repayment of war-debt, it would have been unsound finance without this provision. England out of generosity allowed them to benefit from the Hoover moratorium.

As for the tax on tobacco consumption, Provincial Governments in consultation with the Government of India, were pursuing the matter with the utmost speed. He also assured Mr. Mudaliar that, while the surcharges on salaries paid by officers in the Provinces would be paid to provinces which had deficits, it was the Central Government and not the other provinces who would benefit from surcharges, in the case of surplus provinces.

Referring to Sir Leslie Hudson's opposition to the duty on cheques, Sir George Schuster, said that he had inadvertantly misled the House in respect of the opinion of the Central Banking Committee who, on the contrary, had stated that the abolition of the duty had led to encouragement of the cheque habit. Sir George Schuster's own opinion however was that it had not had an appreciable effect.

As regards capital expenditure, Sir Leslie Hudson had understood the speaker quite contrary to what his speech meant. The speaker did not agree with Sir Abdur Rahim that Railway expenditure was not productive. On the other hand, if only India could get as productive an investment as railways, there was nothing to fear. He assured Sir Leslie Hudson that his fear about shortage of railway stock was not correct, but if it was, it would be put right.

The speaker, replying to Dr. Ziauddin's point, said that the sure way to recovery was for the people at present to invest in Government securities, which would go up and make the people go in for industrial debentures, and therefore for industrial shares.

GOLD EXPORTS

Alluding to the export of gold, Sir George Schuster repudiated the suggestion that the Government had been depleting the resources of the country. On the other hand, the Government had purchased seventy millions worth of sterling and had parted with a certain amount to make sterling payment. That they would have to do even if gold, instead of sterling, was purchased. An embargo on gold, on the other hand, would have checked imports and would have brought down the customs revenue from Rs. 50 to Rs. 25 crores. The House should, therefore, face the realities, and not be guided by sentiments. They must also consider the consequences if the demand for Indian commodities and their prices remained thereafter as low as they were to-day.

STANDARD OF LIFE

Sir George Schuster said that he quite appreciated Sir Abdur Rahim's argument regarding the need for the general economic development of the country, but it was not true that the Government were doing nothing. The Punjab, Sind and Madras irrigation schemes were ready, and the railway development was remarkable. He continued: "The real problem, however, is to raise the standard of life in India, and that can best be done by supplementing agriculture with industrial development. I agree that, as it is necessary to raise the standard of life in India, there must be some supple-

mentary industrial development. I do not think we can be accused in the last two years of not having done something towards it."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The cotton industry had been helped, and he hoped that mill-owners would encourage the Indian agriculturist to produce long staple cotton. Sir George Schuster asked the House to remember, at the same time, that they were passing through a crisis, and that efforts were required more towards keeping the head above water than anything else. A sound policy of economic development, whether it was road development or otherwise, was that they must not increase the burden of interest through capital expenditure, without increasing the means whereby that interest could be met.

TAXATION AN INTOLERABLE BURDEN

As to the question, whether taxation in India was an intolerable burden, the Finance Member quoted Sir Walter Layton himself, according to whom taxation was only about six per cent as compared with 20 per cent in Britain and Japan. No doubt taxation had increased within the last few years, but he could assure the House that it had been distributed evenly over every source of wealth and interest. It had been argued that business enterprise had been retarded owing to heavy taxation, but actually it was due to world conditions to which India was no exception. They were in the midst of difficulties of a tremendously grave nature. It was in the interest of Commerce that they should preserve the conditions of sound finance to maintain India's credit and keep money cheap, so that people might be encouraged to invest money in industrial pursuits. That was one sound way of seeking an outlet, in the present circumstances. If they took risks and allowed the value of Government securities to fall, that would be in the long run more dangerous, and out of which situation it would be very difficult to get out. When he compared the United Kingdom with India, he felt that England's difficulties in the next year or two, were going to be far greater than India's.

MOTION FOR EXEMPTION OF SILK

Khan Bahadur Vacha moved for the deletion of silk from the operation of the duty imposed by the Bill. He explained that there had been strong representations from the trade affected, stating that duty would kill all business in that type of silk. The Government on enquiry found that the duty would work out to 250 per cent. and be on thin silk, which did not compete with Indian silk. The amendment would therefore benefit the Government revenues, the trader and the consumer.

The amendment was adopted.

RAILWAY BUDGET

ABOUT 8 CRORES DEFICIT

		Receipts.	Expenditure	Loss
			(In Lakhs of rupees)	
1932-33	Commercial	86,20	93,52	7,32
	Strategic	1,37	3,39	2,02
	Total	87,57	96,91	9,34
1933-34	Commercial	87,84	93,64	5,80
	Strategic	1,42	3,39	1,97
	Total	89,26	97,03	7,77

According to the estimates presented by Sir Joseph Bhore in the Legislative Assembly on February 16th, the Railway position was about the same as during last year. Because of continued economic depression, and as a consequence, of poor goods earnings, the receipts in 1932-33 amounting to 85¼ crores will, despite the increases in rates and fares, be the lowest on record since 1921-22. Working expenses amounting to 49 crores (excluding 13¾ crores for depreciation) will be about two crores less than last year due in the main to the emergency deduction from pay and partly to retrenchment of expenditure. Despite the increased surcharge on freight, the charges under Fuel are down by 14 lakhs—partly because of lower prices and partly because of lesser traffic. Interest charges are 77 lakhs lower than budget and are actually 13 lakhs less than last year because of lower rate paid on Government borrowings. The loss on commercial lines is expected to be 732 lakhs and that on strategic lines 202 lakhs against 724 lakhs and 196 lakhs respectively in 1931-32, the total loss being 934 lakhs against 920 in 1931-32. There being no free balance in the Reserve Fund, the whole of this loss will be met by temporary loan from the Depreciation Fund, which, after this loan, will stand at 13.68 crores at the end of the year.

The budget for 1933-34 hopes for traffic receipts of 87 crores, an increase of 1/¾ crores or of 2 per cent over current year. Working expenses will amount to about 63 crores (including 13¾ crores for depreciation). Net increase of working expenses as compared with current year only ¼crore, though savings due to emergency cuts from pay, less payments to Income-Tax Department, are 67 lakhs lower. Balance covered by further economies in expenditure, mainly in fuel. Slight increase is provided for under repairs and maintenance.

The final result of 1933-34 is estimated at a total deficit of 777 lakhs—580 lakhs on commercial lines and 107 lakhs on strategic lines. This deficit also will be wholly met by further temporary loan from the Depreciation Fund, which, at the end of 1933-34, will, after the loan, stand at 13.7 crores.

Both during 1932-33 and during 1933-34, the cost of renewals and replacements charged to Depreciation Fund will be substantially less than amounts put into the fund, by 8.15 crores and 7.8 crores respectively; the temporary loans to meet the deficits in the two years will therefore reduce the balance in the Fund only by about 1¼ crores.

In the ten years from 1924-25, when Railway finances were separated Railways will have earned a net surplus of aboout 21 crores, surpluses in the first six years amounting to about 52 crores and deficits in the next four amounting to about 31 crores. They have contributed during the first seven years about 42 crores to General Revenues and put by 35 crores into Depreciation Fund after meeting cost of current replacements and renewals which has enabled them to meet their deficits in recent years without outside borrowing.

Works programme for 1933-34 provides only for bare essentials apart from completion of existing commitments. Total sum provided is 9 crores, after providing for reduction of stores balances by 1¼ crores. New construction accounts only for 1/3 crore which it is expected will be enough to complete all lines now under construction. Ballance is for essential open line works and includes 90 lakhs for purchase of 2,500 wagons.

CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

Referring to suggestions made that opportunity should be taken of present comparatively low rates of interest and low prices of material to embark on larger programme of Railway construction and development Sir

Joseph Bhore said: "It is undoubtedly true that the fall in the rate of interest has made certain projects, which we had to lay aside as unremunerative in recent years, more attractive. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the question of the remunerativeness of new constructions will now have to be examined afresh with reference to the rival claims and possibilities of road transport much more carefully than in the past. It is, for instance, a question for careful consideration whether the facilities sought to be provided by short branch line extensions of, or feeders to existing lines, to which a good deal of attention has been paid in India in the past, cannot be more profitably supplied as part of a co-ordinated scheme of road development. An era of cheaper money would certainly necessitate our re-examining with care and attention many schemes which would have resulted in a reduction in maintenance or operating costs, but have had to be laid aside because they were not considered remunerative when higher rates of interest prevailed. All these investigations and examinations will take some time and cannot affect the next year's budget. They will, however, receive our careful consideration, and the House may rest assured that when we came to the conclusion that it is wise and in the interests of railways and the country at large to undertake capital outlay of any sort on railway construction and development, we shall not hesitate to take the earliest opportunity of laying such proposals before you or the Standing Finance Committee for Railways."

DISCUSSION

Railway Discrimination

Mr. Joshi complained of the inadequacy of the "cut" made in the salary of the higher staff and also the way in which retrenchment was carried on. Referring to racial discrimination he did not wish to replace the present Anglo-Indian employees but wanted an announcement of policy from Government as to within what time they would do away with the discrimination. The speaker suggested that better facilities should be given to sons of Railwaymen for education. Provident Fund should be thrown open to all classes of men in railway services.

Conciliation Board

Mr. Joshi wanted the setting up of a Conciliation Board in the event of dispute as recommended by the Labour Commission. It was due to the non-setting up of such a body that so much hardship was caused to the public and labour on account of the M. and S. M. Railway strike.

No Contact

Mr. K. C. Neogy claimed that the present troubles of the railways lay in the want of contact between the railway and the general public, which was its consumers. The Government failed to give effect to the recommendations of the Ackworth Committee, specially in respect of bringing the railways into closer touch with the public. For instance, the constitution and functions of the Central Advisory Committee were not the same as recommended by the Ackworth Committee.

Mr. James speaking as a Member of the Citizens' Committee on the M. S. M. Railway dispute, asserted that Mr. Joshi had been making misstatements. The Committee was set up to assist Railwaymen and had no personal axe to grind.

Agricultural Produce

Raja Bahadur Krishnamachari urged the reduction of freights on agricultural produce and remarked that judging by the number of questions that

were being asked daily regarding the personnel of railway services in the Assembly there was not the unjustifiable impression that the member in charge of establishment was not discharging his duty to their entire satisfaction.

Bhai Parmanand criticised the Railway Board's policy of racial discrimination and communal favouritism. He did not object to the increase in the representation of Moslems or any other communities because all classes and communities must have opportunities, but let that not be at the expense of the deserving classes. At any rate, let there be no anti-Hindu bias in selection of personnel for services.

"CUTS" MOTIONS

As many as 126 cuts or motions to reduce the demand for the Railway Board, figured on the list when the Assembly met on February 21st to discuss motions for grants for the Railway Department.

Abolition of Railway Board

Mr. Ghuznavi moved for the abolition of the Railway Board through a cut of one rupee. Mr. Ghuznavi levelled an attack on the Board for failure to accept the lowest tenders in the matter of coal purchase. He asked if it was not a fact that until last year, when he raised the question in the House, the Railway Board were blissfully ignorant of the fact, that there was no regular tender system and that at any rate, the lowest tender was not accepted and that it was as a result of his disclosures that the lowest tenders were accepted, leading to a saving of twenty lakhs of rupees. He criticised the high rates now prevailing in respect of carriage of coal by rail, and showed how it was cheaper to carry it by sea. He objected to the introduction of the crew system. Mr. Ghuznavi argued in favour of the amalgamation of the East Indian and Eastern Bengal Railways, and suggested first the amalgamation of the medical services in Railways.

Mr. S. C. Mitra drew the attention of the House to the enormous increase in Railway Board expenditure, and wanted Indianisation. When the work of a big department like the Home Department, could be managed by a Member, Secretary and Deputy Secretary, why should the Railway department be allowed to have bloated strength?

Sir Henry Gidney urged unification of the railway systems, especially of those having the same termini like the East Indian and Eastern Bengal Railways in Calcutta, also the abolition of the Railway Stores Department by handing over the work to an Indian Department.

Mr. Sen said that the saving made by the Railway Board through coal purchase was not due to the public spiritedness of Mr. Ghuznavi, but because of the extreme depression in the coal trade, and the fall in prices of select coal, which used to sell last year at Rs. 2-10 and now sold at 1 or 1-4.

Mr. N. M. Joshi contended that the railways were not being run on commercial lines. For instance there was one seat for every twelve first class passengers a year and one seat for every 400 third class passengers and while every first class seat earned Rs. 208 yearly, every second class seat earned Rs. 236 and every third class seat earned Rs. 341. As regards cost every first class seat costs Rs. 4,000 and earned Rs. 500 whereas every third class seat costs Rs. 206 and earned Rs. 241. Thus it was quite clear that if the railways were to take commercial consideration every third class passenger paid more for his seat than every first class passenger. He asked why the Government favoured higher classes at the expense of the working classes. The remedy was for the Government to encourage third class traffic by reducing the number of first and second class seats on railway trains and adding more third class seats with a view to preventing overcrowding.

SIR J. BHORE'S REPLY

Sir Joseph Bhore, Railway Member, replying to three day's criticism of Railway policy and administration, regretted the fact that it had been nothing but a replica of the discussion and thereby the House had deprived itself of raising issues. If Mr. Ghuznavi had intended to pass an indictment on the present administration by his speech on coal purchase policy, then it had singularly failed for, even assuming his figures to be correct, the Board had, by adopting his advice, saved 20 lakhs of rupees. As for the carriage of coal by sea for use by the M. and S. M. and S. I. Railways, Sir Joseph Bhore informed the House that the Board had itself raised the question and hoped to see a change in the existing practice next year, so that coal would be carried by train instead of by sea. These companies were at full liberty to choose whichever route they liked. The Board had succeeded in inducing the S. I. Railway to accept the suggestion whereby a bulk of their coal will be carried by land, even though it might mean some loss.

Regarding the principle followed in allocating contracts, Sir Joseph Bhore explained that the possession of collieries which produced 33 per cent of their requirements had the effect of safeguarding the interests of railways against possible combination among private collieries and also reduced the price at which coal could be purchased in the open market.

As for Indianisation, Sir Joseph Bhore explained that in respect of all new entrants, the principle of 75 per cent Indianisation was followed scrupulously. In fact, on State-managed railways the proportion had gone up from 28 per cent Indians in 1925 when the principle was introduced to 36.9 in 1931. In the superior ranks they did not make appointments on racial or communal basis.

Financial Commissioner's Reply

Mr. Rau, Financial Commissioner for Railways, refuted the statement that there had been any savings on account of Mr. Ghuznavi's criticism or any change in the policy of coal purchase for railways. He asserted that the figure quoted by Mr. Ghuznavi was a much inflated one. The savings in coal purcases were due to various factors like lower prices, lower freights and purchases near the place of consumption. There had been savings in sleeper contracts also by one rupee a sleeper, which could not be accounted to Mr. Ghuznavi.

Mr. Rau said that the Government had given serious consideration to the question of freight, and had been able to persuade the Railways to reduce freight and transport coal by rail. In regard to the raising of coal, the Government had decided to call for tenders in future. Referring to Mr. S. C. Mitra's criticism, Mr. Rau said that the Government had no desire to withhold colliery accounts from the Public Accounts Committee, and would take the earliest opportunity of placing them before it. He did not minimise the seriousness of the allegations regarding the difference of Rs. 54 lakhs in the East Indian Stores Department but there was no clear evidence of fraud and the difference was due to revaluation and amalgamation of the East Indian with the O. R. Railway.

Muslims and Railway Servants

Mr. Maswood Ahmed in his speech on the token "cut" moved on February 24th drew attention to the paucity of Muslims in railway services. He said that the number of Muslims in the Railway Board, who were four in 1930, had decreased to three in 1932-33. There was no Muslim Agent or Deputy Agent. On the other hand, Deputy Agents in various State Railways had been appointed superseding Hindu, Muslim and other officers.

This was particularly so in the case of the North-Western Railway. As regards gazetted ranks the position was, Burma Railways had one Muslim out of 111 gazetted officers, the E. B. Railway 6 out of 134, and the E. I. Railway 11 out of 78. Since 1925 the percentage of Muslims in State Railways had increased only slightly. The position of company-managed lines was still more disgraceful as Muslims there were only 2.65 per cent. If it was argued that though this was the past position the Government had taken steps now to remedy the situation, his answer was that fresh recruitments did not show better results. For instance, during the past five years 196 gazetted posts had been filled of which 96 had gone to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 76 to Hindus, 14 to Muslims and 10 to others.

National-Mindedness

Mr. Myint (Burma) opposed the motion as he stood for nationalism. Describing himself as a majority community man in Burma and a minority community man in India and further as a spectator of the greatest tragedy of communalism, he observed that unless they all accustomed themselves to think in terms of the nation and not of communities he shuddered to think what would happen to India as a nation and as a country.

Promotion Boards

Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, referred to the communal discontent regarding promotions in Services and suggested the setting up of Promotion Boards on the British model. In regard to retrenchment and the grievances of the Minority communities, the speaker would like the creation of staff councils and ventured to think that if his suggestions were accepted in time, the future legislature would be saved. The present conditions bred discontent, demoralised the Services and produced inefficiency. His suggestions would create a sense of security among the Services and he urged upon Sir Joseph Bhore who, he said, enjoyed the confidence of all sections of the House to take up the matter and lay the foundations of a greater unified India.

Rotation System

Mr. Ranga Aiyar refuted the statement that Mr. Mudaliar's scheme would lead to national solidarity. He characterised Mr. Mudaliar's suggestions as a demand for another communal award. He said that there was already reaction in the Services but this reaction would be aggravated a hundred-fold by the acceptance of Mr. Mudaliar's proposals. He asserted that there had been no communal representation in Services in England though there were Jews and Catholics, who had suffered, being in a minority. Mr. Mudaliar had failed to give figures for such representation in Canada. The rotation system preached by Mr. Mudaliar had created enough mischief in Madras. The speaker would not like its extension in other parts of India. He would not deny justice being done to Mussalmans but said that justice to Mussalmans should not be injustice to Hindus and would not like majorities being converted into minorities.

Muslim Weightage

Mr. C. P. Colvin, trying to remove misapprehensions admitted that a greater proportion of Muslims at present in the services were employed in the inferior ranks. The Railway Board too felt that representation of Muslims in the Subordinate services was inadequate and were trying to adopt special steps in order to improve it. Owing to retrenchment and loss in traffic there was practically no recruitment in the last two or three years and hence no appreciable communal representation was possible. Mr. Hasan's report was under consideration and it was not possible to make an early announcement.

Sir Joseph Bhore stated that the Government were honestly doing all they could on the subject but no specific action on Mr. Hasan's report was yet possible. The chief reason for this delay was that the Government were trying to devise a consolidated solution on the matter of communal solution on the matter of communal representation generally. As for a Railway Service Commission, the Commerce Member said that the suggestion was most important and the House should not expect any pronouncement from him at the present. He hoped that the enunciation of certain principles which the Government were formulating would remove all reasonable grounds for complaints.

Rent Concessions

Mr. Rau, on behalf of the Government, said on February 28 that Mr. Mitra was under a misapprehension that there was any change of policy in the matter of giving rent-concessions to the railway staff. He assured the House that it was only transfer of money from one Department to another, due to the decision of the Government that the deficit due to rent-concession be borne by commercial departments. Mr. Rau said that it was after every possible appropriation, that they had presented supplementary demands. Alluding to voted and non-voted salaries, he said that non-voted salaries were sanctioned by the Government of India Act. He was unable to effect a change. It was, however, by a matter of pure chance that the Railway Board, when acquiring the services of an employee from one of the Railways got an employee who happened to be on the non-voted salary list. He repudiated the allegation that leave was taken to accommodate brother-officers.

RAILWAY STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. K. C. Neogy complained against the paucity of information contained in the proceedings of the Railway Standing Finance Committee, where the record of sanction given to sums running to crores was contained in not more than half-a-page. He felt that the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee had been reduced to a mere farce, and the Government were packing the committee with those who always supported Government measures like the Ordinance Act. He urged that the House was entitled to more information than what the Railway Board was now placing before them.

Mr. Morgan, speaking as a member of the Railway Standing Finance Committee, said that he also was not satisfied with the record of the proceedings presented by the Government to the House. When one said anything at the meeting of the Committee, it should find a place on the record of the proceedings.

A sum of Rs. 24,000 on account of excess leave salary and certain unexpected payments of gratuity, was agreed to.

The next item was for Rs. 12½ lakhs due to emergency deductions and gratuities being higher than anticipated.

Sir Henry Gidney thought that these errors in calculation could have been avoided if the Railway Board had shown greater care in economy measures. The grant was sanctioned.

Another demand was for Rs. 6¼ lakhs due to contributions in respect of certain assets for past years omitted to be made in those years. This also was approved.

When the Financial Commissioner proposed the next demand amounting to Rs. 1,75,35,000 being appropriation from the depreciation fund, Dr. Ziauddin asked whether it was a loan from the fund, and whether any interest was allowed on it.

Mr. Rau said that it was a loan, but no interest was allowed.

The House agreed to the demand.

The last item was in respect of Rs. 2,69,000 under "Working Expenses and Miscellaneous.

Mr. Murtaza Sahib asked the Commerce Member to charge this amount to the Military instead of Railways, as the expenditure related mainly to the Army.

Sir Joseph Bhore expressed his inability to do one way or the other at present, but said that he would go into the matter with the Finance Member.

The House agreed to the demand.

Special Marriage Act Repeal Bill

Raja Bahadur Krishnamachari moved on February 27th for consideration of the Bill to repeal the Special Marriage (Amendment) Act. The cardinal principle of legislation should be demand from the public, which in this case did not exist. The speaker said that inter-marriages had nothing to do with nationalism, as stated in the statement of objects and reasons of Sir Hari Singh Gour's Act. On the other hand, the caste system was the corner stone of Hinduism, and those who did not believe in it, might not trouble to call themselves Hindus. Sir Hari Singh Gour's Act struck at the root of the caste system.

Mr. Badrilal Rastogi, moving for circulation, opined that there was no obstacle in the way of intercaste marriage. In fact, hundreds of such marriages were performed every year. The best course was to circulate the Bill for eliciting public opinion.

At this stage many members wanted closure, which was agreed to by 27 against 17 votes.

The circulation motion was put to vote and rejected by 25 against 13 votes.

Thereupon the House divided on the motion for consideration of the main Bill to repeal the Special Marriage Act, which was lost by 30 against 12 votes.

Child Marriage Restraint Act Amending Bill

Haji Wajihuddin moved for the circulation of his Bill to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act. Haji Wajihuddin wanted exclusion of Moslems from the operation of the Sarda Act. He contended that the Act was a restriction on the freedom of the people. The Moslem religion permitted marriage at any time, and therefore any restriction on the exercise of that liberty was opposed to Islam. Marriage under Islam was an inviolable religious sacrament and not a mere social contract. He would make the next motion for consideration or for a select committee only if a majority of the Moslems favoured the Bill for the exclusion of that community.

Sir Mahomed Yakub and Mr. Shafee Daudi supported the Bill not because they supported early marriages, but because they were opposed to any interference on the part of anybody in religious matters of any community.

Sir Harry Haig, Home Member, said that the Government had lent their support to the Sarda Act, not with any wanton desire to interfere with the religious practices or beliefs of any community, but because it was believed that this Act would be a step in the direction of dealing with what was felt to be a serious social evil. As for Moslem objection, the Government had no desire to underestimate it, but he thought that it was

not unreasonable that Moslems should be asked to consider the Sarda Act as a measure of social reform and not as one which trenched on the practice of their religion. If on account of certain material reasons, economic considerations and family difficulties, it might be desirable in exceptional circumstances that early marriage should not take place, then there could be only one answer and that was that the consideration which led to the passing of the Sarda Act outweighed all these considerations. The Act was essentially a general law, and it could not be treated as communal law. Once that position was accepted, objection to the Act would disappear.

Resuming the discussion on the Sarda Act Amending Bill, on March 24th Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy opposed the motion for circulation, and said that the Government were fully aware of the views of Muslims. The speaker asked the majority community not to thrust such a measure on the Muslims and asked the House to imagine what would happen if some one introduced a measure restraining the slaughter of cows. He accused the Government of being past masters in the art of manufacturing Muslim opinion.

Mr. N. M. Joshi and others wanted the debate to be closed.

The President asked for the vote of the House, and the Government and Europeans remaining neutral, the House carried amidst cheers by 40 to 17 votes, the motion to close the debate.

Explaining the Government's position, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain said that the Government supported the Sarda Act on the understanding that there was a fairly large section of Indians of education, light and leading who were prepared to stand by that mild reform. If, however, it was felt that the Government were under a misapprehension on that point, then the Government were not bound by any conclusion that they might have arrived at on such evidence as was before them at that time. Proceeding, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain held that if it was alleged that there was very little support to the Sarda Act, the Government were prepared to wait and see. But he could not see how circulation of the Bill could remove the alleged interference in religion. Even if they circulated the Bill fifty times and if it interfered with religion, it would still continue to interfere after circulation. The question was: Did the Government want to reconsider the principle of the Sarda Act ? If they did, the Government would not take up the attitude that they had made up their minds once, and there was no changing. The Government opinion was based not upon their personal or individual opinion or upon Government opinion as that of a corporate body, but on the basis of the data supplied to them by the expression of the opinion of the members of the House at that time.

The House divided on the circulation motion, which was rejected by 46 against 44 votes

NO TRUCE WITH CONGRESS UNLESS C. D. MOVEMENT IS CALLED OFF

The adjournment motion of Mr. Lalchand Navalrai regarding the wholesale arrests of Congressmen was defeated in Assembly on March 31st by 49 to 30 votes while Mr. Maswood Ahmed's resolution on Gandhiji's release was not pressed to vote and debate adjourned sine die.

It was well understood that both debates on Mahatma Gandhi would be kept inconclusive, one urging his release and other raising the question of Congress session. But when it was two minutes to six and Mr. K. C. Neogy abruptly sat down Government side shouted for the closure of the debate.

This the Chair had to accept and when vote was taken forty-nine were against the motion and thirty for it.

The debate served one chief purpose, namely, that whereas Sir Harry Haig had constantly to defend, explain and interpret the Government policy through a series of questions, he had an excellent chance of giving a comprehensive review of official policy in two speeches. He left, no doubt an impression on opposition mind of two things, firstly that whatever the goal in abstract the Congress may have Government would not let the wreckers get again a chance of wrecking the new constitution and that as Congress policy still was one of Civil Disobedience, neither the Congress leaders nor the Congress as a constituted body could expect any gesture of good-will from Government. The issue was put as clearly as it could be so that the lobby feeling was that it may have effect of making opposition members realize that their task of securing the release of political prisoners by holding out hopes of Congress abandoning civil disobedience movement will not influence the Government.

Release of Mahatma Gandhi

The Legislative Assembly resumed further discussion on Mr. Maswood Ahmed's resolution on April 1 regarding the release of Mahatma Gandhi, Mufti Kafaetullah and other political prisoners. Mr. Abdul Matin dwelt at length on the history of the pre and post-Gandhi Irwin Pact and said although the Government claimed temporary success for their policy they still observed war mentality and claimed a complete surrender and assurance of a future good conduct from the Congress for which the Government must wait till the Dooms Day. Referring to Mr. Anklesaria's remarks that a section of the people in the country was sick of Gandhiji Mr. Abdul Matin remarked that the whole truth was that a considerable section in the country was sick of Sir Harry Haig and Ordinances. He said, with mighty Mahatma on one side and the almighty Haig on the other, rights of ordinary citizens were trampled.

Release Inadvisable

Mr. Yamin Khan objected to Mufti Kefaeutullah's name being associated with that of Gandhiji as he was imprisoned not on a political ground. He characterised the resolution as inadvisable in as-much-as the release of Gandhiji at a time when the constitution was in a melting pot might lead to a disturbance in law and order. He held that Gandhiji's forced hartal was responsible for many communal riots.

Repression And Arrests

Mr. Lahiri Chowdhury strongly condemned Government's action of repression and arrests. When the mouth of the country was muzzled, when Ordinance was prevailing and when the press was gagged, said Mr. Lahiri Choudhury, it was no use pressing for the release of Gandhiji. Let Gandhiji remain in jail but the spirit of Nationalism once inflammed would burn undiminished. He made a vitriolic attack on Mr. Yamin Khan's motive in scandalising Gandhiji and was glad that Mr. Yamin Khan got snubbed by the House when as a puppet he was set up as a candidate for Deputy Presidentship by the Government.

Peace in India

"Peace has been the greatest interest of the British Empire and I am certain that peace is the greatest interest of India," said Sir Harry Haig in replying to the proposals for the release of Mahatma Gandhi. "But the question to ask," he continued, "is whether the proposals will facilitate

peace. What would be the positive results of the release of political prisoners? Government's ideas are restoration of peaceful conditions of the country and co-operation with the new constitution. With these aims in view, in 1931 the Government made an extremely generous suggestion. Was that taken in the spirit in which it was made ? Emphatically no. The Government meant peace when the Congress took to truce. There can be no co-operation under the menace of revival of Civil Disobedience. People say that Congress has changed its attitude. But what is the attitude of Mr. Gandhi? As soon as he will be released, he will be confronted with the problem as to whether he would renew Civil Disobedience. Then there are leaders who are more extreme. Mr. Gandhi in his Round Table speech at first said that he was for absolute co-operation but later he asserted that the Congress represents the spirit of rebellion." Concluding Sir Harry Haig claimed that there had been a change in the spirit prevailing in the country and it was no longer a question of forcing the Government by Congress methods, but reaching an agreement by negotiations and cordiality and this has been done during the three sittings of the Round Table Conference.

Humiliating Congress

Mr. Joshi held that most of the political prisoners were convicted for nominal offences against the Ordinances and that the Government would be doing the greatest injury to themselves if they insisted on an assurance from the prisoners first. The Government would not gain anything by humiliating the Congress that way. Congressmen might not agree to abandon their policy openly, but they were certainly prepared to reconsider their policy. He thought that if the Government abandoned their vindictive policy and were more generous in dealing with the Congress, they would get the sympathy and support of the public which would immensely help constitutional reform.

Gagging Congress

Mr. Mitra supported Mr. Navalarai's censure motion. He failed to understand the purpose of the Government in precluding the Congress from holding the meeting by arrests instead of declaring it unlawful. The Congress which is the premier political organisation in the country should have been given full chance to discuss the White Paper. But instead, the Government is gagging it and driving the country to desperation.

Ideal of Independence

Mr. C. S. Rangaiyer contended that constitutionalists had been placed between two fires. On the one hand the Government with its policy wishes to suppress the Congress, and on the other the Congress is bent upon holding its session. He maintained so long as the Congress is not declared unlawful, it was entitled to hold its meeting and wondered what was wrong in having one's ideal the attainment of complete independence. Why is His Majesty's Government negotiating with the Irish Free State.

Substance of Independence

Sir Abdur Rahim asked if it was politically expedient to ban the Congress session at the present moment. The Government by taking an anticipatory action of this character is taking too great a risk upon themselves.

Sir Harisingh Gour complained no facilities were given to constitutionalists to have access to three members of the Congress and persuade them to believe that their policy was wrong. He reminded the Home Member that some members of the Congress openly had declared that they would be satisfied with the substance of independence which was the same thing as the statute of Westminster.

Home Member's Reply

Replying to debate on the adjournment motion the Home Member defined the Government attitude and emphasised they had been forced into action by a certain policy pursued by the Congress. He reminded the members of the chain of events which had led them thereto. He characterised the Congress session as spectacular preparations.

Government is never anxious to go more than the circumstances justify. In their judgment it was not necessary for dealing with Civil Disobedience to declare the entire Congress unlawful. Such action would go far beyond the requirements of the case involving prosecution of a number of persons who are not active members of the Congress and are not really anxious to pursue Civil Disobedience.

Mr. Kshitish Neogy asked Sir Harry Haig how he could reconcile Mr. W. D. R. Prentice's statement in the Bengal Council that the Congress Session had not been banned with the present action that the Government was making a general round up of those who wanted to participate in the coming Congress.

They divided on the motion which was lost by 49 voting against and 20 for.

Madras Land Mortgage Bank Debentures

Mr. K. P. Thampan moved on March 2nd that Section 20 of the Indian Trust Act be so amended as to declare debentures of the Central Land Mortgage Bank of Madras as trustee securities.

Mr. James, speaking in support of the resolution, quoted from the report of the working of co-operative societies in Madras, and said that the indebtedness of the Indian masses was as bad as it could be. Their sufferings could be alleviated through the proper working of the Land Mortgage Bank.

Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, supporting the resolution, said that the Madras Bank fulfilled all the requirements laid down by the Agricultural and Central Banking Commissions. Large sums of money were lying idle and could be invested if the legal impediments were removed.

Sir George Schuster assured the House that the Government's present programme was not guided by any selfishness or callous indifference. He could not agree with the general statement of Mr. James that acceptance of the resolution would help in solving the problem on indebtedness. As for insurance companies, he thought they would be much handicapped if they were forced to invest only in trustee securities. The Government, after a very careful consideration, had come to the conclusion that, in the wider interest of the country, the question of revising trustee securities should be withheld until the constitutional changes. He advised the mover not to press the resolution, in which case the Government would oppose it. He was prepared to discuss the whole matter with one or two expert members.

Mr. Thampan doubted the advisability of keeping the matter pending till the introduction of Constitutional Reforms. However, in view of the Finance Member's assurance he withdrew the resolution.

Import Duty on Raw Films

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai moved the next resolution, asking for the removal of the import duty on raw films as recommended by the Indian Cinematograph Committee, in order to give encouragement to the Indian film industry which was still in its infancy. Tracing the development of the film industry in India, he pointed out its usefulness and educative value. It

was the duty of the Government not only to encourage, but also to give substantial material support to the industry.

Mr. Jadhav, supporting the resolution, thanked the Government for affording help to the paper and other industries, and asked for similar help to the film industry, whereby the Government would be raising the level of education in the country.

Mr. Goswami Puri, supporting the resolution, quoted the case of Russia where big strides were made in educating the masses through the cinema. He suggested that the deficit of 2¼ lakhs resulting from the abolition of the import duty, might be counter-balanced by shortening to two months the period allowed to refund seven-eighths of the import duty if films were re-exported within two months of their importation.

Sir Frank Noyce, on behalf of the Government, said that the cinema industry had come to stay in India, and had great educative potentialities. The Government were anxious that the industry should play a worthy part in India. The Government, however, felt that under the present financial conditions, they were unable to abolish the duty. They would do so as soon as the financial considerations permitted it. As regards the suggestion to shorten the period of refunding the duty on re-exported films, Sir Frank Noyce said that at present the Government did not consider that the abolition of the duty would be justified. They were however willing to examine the question, and it would necessitate the amending of the Sea Customs Act. They were also prepared to treat the industry on the same level as Broadcasting. He hoped that the resolution would be withdrawn.

Sir Frank Noyce stated that, in view of the financial implication, he could not accept the resolution as it stood, but he would go into the question carefully with the Finance Member, and the Central Board of Revenue and do all that was possible to see that the industry flourished.

The resolutuion was withdrawn.

INDIANISATION OF FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

The debate on foreign political department did not arouse much interest although Sir Abdur Rahim, leader of the Independents initiated it with the knowledge that he had gained as the chairman of the General Purposes Retrenchment Committee. Mr. Metcalfe, Foreign Secretary broke his reticence and was able to prove in many cases especially in respect of administrations under their control that they were able to effect economies more than was recommended by the Committee. On the question of Indianization, however, he disappointed the House when he said there were practical difficulties in the way of giving effect to the policy of 25 per cent Indianization adopted in 1921. The house was not in a mood to accept his statement that very few Indians were applying for posts in foreign political service. Though Sir Abdur Rahim withdrew his motion, he warned Mr. Metcalfe of his determination to revert to the subject in connection with the finance bill.

Sir Abdur Rahim moved a cut of Rs. 100 in the Foreign and Political Department estimates, to raise a debate on retrenchment and Indianisation. He wanted the Foreign and Political Secretary to tell the House what recommendations of the General Purposes Retrenchment Sub-Committee had been adopted by the Government and what economies had been affected.

Sir Abdur Rahim pleaded for Indianisation of the Foreign and Political Department, and asked how it was that the Cipher department in the Dip-

lomatic service had never had a single Indian Civilian in it. He elicited the information from the Foreign Secretary that Indian Civilians did not apply for diplomatic posts generally and there was no Indian Civilian in the Cipher Department since recruitment to this department was open only to British officers. The Foreign Secretary however hoped that in the coming years Indians would be able to get into this department as well.

Mr. Metcalfe, Foreign Secretary, said that they had been doing their very best and were still endeavouring to give effect to the Retrenchment Committee's recommendations. He pointed out that the Department was asked by the Committee to make a reduction of Rs. 120 lakhs in the Secretariat expenditure. Rs. 71 lakhs had been already cut, and further savings might shortly be expected.

INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY

Mr. Yamin Khan moved a "cut" under the Army estimates to raise a debate on March 8th on the question of Indianisation and the strength of the Indian Army.

Mr. Yamin Khan said that defence should be by the people if self-government was to be a reality. He referred to his motion which elicited the announcement of the eight units scheme by Lord Rawlinson, the then Commander-in-Chief. He then did not withdraw his motion, and to-day he asserted that he had been right in so doing. The eight units scheme was not liked by anyone and it was not the right policy He paid a tribute to British officers for their sense of discipline and hoped that the same would be imbibed by the Indians. Indians had the required martial spirit. They only required an opportunity.

Sir Abdur Rahim said that Rai Bahadur Chhoturam, Principal Mookerji and the speaker had, as members of the Selection Board, made a strong protest against officers for Indian Army being recruited from outside India. Indian opinion also unanimously demanded this. As regards the rank and file, it should be thrown open to men from all the provinces. It might be that the North had more fighting material, but the Army traditions of the other provinces must be revived and given a chance. Sir Abdur Rahim said: "We want a proper beginning to day, and it should be pursued to its logical end. We cannot control the Government policy in these matters, but they must take up the question in earnest.

Army Secretary's Reply

Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, replying to the debate, claimed that the administration was outstandingly sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Referring to the demand for an increase in the number of admissions to the Military Academy, he alluded to the Commander-in-Chief's statement in the Council of State the previous day that the present number of sixty was sufficient to carry out the recruitment required and the time would not be ripe to increase it until that policy had been given some chance of a success. Answering Mr. Yamin Khan, he had stated that this number could be increased in the course of years. As for the charge against the eight units scheme, the Army Secretary defended the scheme as being best suited for acceleration of Indianisation, and said that until that scheme had been fully worked out, they could not say about the next step, in advance. In fact, complete Indianisation of the eight units was the quickest way of approach towards a solution. As the Commander-in-Chief had stated, the pace of Indianisation depended upon Indian officers in the Army at the present mo-

ment and those cadets who were receiving training at the Academy. The policy enunciated at the Round Table Conference that India's defence must to an increasing extent become the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone, was receiving genuine and full co-operation and the support of the Army authorities.

Both the Army and the Foreign secretaries to the Government of India came out well in the debate in the Assembly on March 9th with the result that on the question of retrenchment in military expenditure Mr. Sitaram Raju's cut motion was rejected by a majority of five votes while the cut motion of Sir Abdur Rahim demanding Indianisation and retrenchment in foreign political department was withdrawn. Speaking with the knowledge derived as a member of the Army Retrenchment Sub-Committee Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar was able to expose the loopholes, particularly in the military engineering services and the medical services in the army. He caused much laughter when he asked the Assembly members to visit the Calcutta hospital to see for themselves that four or five officers were looking after only seventeen patients.

Mr. Arthur Moore who was at one time in the air force and is the President of the Aero Club of India and Burma put in a vigorous plea for an additional squadron in the air force in order to meet any contingency.

The reply of Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary was couched on more general terms and did not specifically rebut the charges of extravagance levelled against the department. The motion, however, was lost by 39 votes against 44.

Reduction of Income Tax

Thereafter, Mr. Rahimtoolah Chinoy moved an amendment reducing from four to two pies the burden on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000. He regretted the Finance Member's attempt to divide the House by attacking money-lenders, and also his threat to capitalists that if they voted for it, they would have to pay for it. He pleaded that the lower middle class man was most hard hit, because owing to depression and unemployment, each bread-winner in the family had to maintain several people. His motion would also keep the thousand clerks doing this assessment work in employment.

Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar said that if the Finance Member had to resort to the tactics of setting up the rural against the urban classes, cater to inter-provincial jealousies and appeal to the coming Constitution Act, it must be a poor case. This House dealt with urban taxation mostly. Rural taxation was a Provincial matter and the provincial councils were doing their best to relieve that class of tax-payer. He also felt that unreasonableness was not displayed by the Opposition, but by the Government members, who came secretly pledged to think and vote only in one way. He added: "On the other hand, we have only been too reasonable and too indulgent to the voice of reason, perhaps to the voice of temptation more than even to the voice of reason, and have often voted more according to the wishes of the Finance Member than according to our own independent judgment."

Sir Leslie Hudson observed that the European Group stood for sound finance, and would not support proposals for unbalancing the present budget. He however lodged a protest against the statement of the Finance Member that the remaining portion of the salary "cut" would be the first charge on the Government's improved finances. Sir Leslie Hudson said that this should be done simultaneously with the removal of surcharges. The speaker said that the class of small businessmen were on the verge of extinction and should be given relief. Sir Leslie, though he had sympathy

with the amendment, did not stand for narrowing down the basis of taxation. He, therefore, suggested that the amendment should be withdrawn. The European Group would support the amendment of Mr. Ibrahim Ali Khan as amended by Mr. James. This proposal would result in a loss of Rs. 18 or Rs. 17 lakhs, which would still leave the present budget in a surplus.

Sir George Schuster, replying to the debate, asserted that it was not his business to issue threats. He had only told them what would be the results if the House took a certain line of action. The Finance Member warned the House that any wrecking of the present position would have serious consequences. There was a good deal behind that statement. Although on account of the export of gold their present position looked better, they should face the realities. They must realise that the future Constitution outlined by the White Paper, would necessitate the handing over of certain present Central revenues to the Provinces. They would, for instance, have to surrender three crores if Burma was separated, two crores of jute tax to Bengal, two crores on account of the separation of Sind and Orissa, and another two crores on the creation of a Reserve Bank in addition to part of the income-tax. Sir George Schuster said that there would be no chance for the Federal Government, without maintaining a high level of taxation and it was therefore necessary for them to keep the present features of the Finance Bill, and not break away from the present financial framework.

Sir George Schuster added that the Government did not mean to create inter-provincial jealousies. They wanted to give some relief to the Provincial Governments for their nation-building beneficial activities, which would not be possible if the present surplus in the Budget was reduced. By the amendment, the surplus of Rs. 42 lakhs would be reduced to Rs. 5 lakhs, which would be undesirable.

The amendment was rejected by 57 votes to 47.

Government Defeat

Mr. Ibrahim Ali Khan moved that incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 be taxed at two pies in the rupee, and from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000 at four pies.

Mr. F. E. James moved that a proviso be added to the amendment, that for the purpose of any assessment to be made for the year ending 31st March 1934, the rate of income-tax applicable to such part of the total income of the assessee as was derived from the salaries or from the interest on securities paid in the financial year 1932-33, shall be four pies in the rupee, and for the purpose of refunds under sub-section 1 or sub-section 3 of Section 48 in respect of dividends declared in the year ending 31st March 1933 or of payments made in the said year, interest on securities or salaries, the rate applicable to the total income of the person claiming refund, shall be at the rate of four pies.

Sir George Schuster remarked that the Government's view still was that there was no room for concession, and the sum of Rs. 17 lakhs cut by the amendment was no small amount. There were many urgent demands such as grants for the Aligarh and Benares Universities, which the Government viewed with great sympathy, but when the year closed, they would be left without any margin to meet the extra demands. He opposed the present amendment, as strongly as the other amendments which he was glad the House had rejected earlier.

The Assembly divided and the amendment was carried by 49 to 33 votes.

OFFICIAL REPLY

Mr. Tottenham, replying to the various criticisms levelled against the Army Department, said that they had nothing to hide, and their accounts were open to examination. This fact was sufficiently borne out by those committee like the Military Accounts Committee and the Retrenchment Committees, which had thoroughly gone into the working of the Department.

The Army expenditure in 1922-23 was Rs. 63 crores, and now within ten years, it had been reduced by Rs. 17 crores, which was a great achievement. The policy of retrenchment had been carried out carefully and scientifically in all sections of the Army.

When the House divided, the cut motion was defeated by 44 against 39 votes.

Finance Bill Passed

The Legislative Assembly commenced the third reading of the Finance Bill on March 28th.

Dr. Ziauddin said from the time of the French revolution, up to the post-Russian revolution period, the political theory outside India had been that Government existed for the people. The theory in India was that people existed for the comfort of the Government. The speaker urged that efforts should be made to restore the normal practice of making payments in Great Britain through favourable balance of trade. He criticised the policy of granting loans to railways, provincial Governments and the Indian States and also the policy of holding foreign securities in place of gold in the currency reserve and urged for the abolition of export duty on hides and skins. He pleaded the cause of sugar by urging duty on candy.

The Assembly passed the Finance Bill without a division.

ANTI-DUMPING LEGISLATION

Mr. H. P. Mody gave notice on January 24th of the following resolution: "The Assembly recommends that legislation should be introduced, without delay, empowering the Government of India to take prompt executive action as and when necessary to protect indigenous industries against the imports of goods from foreign countries, which by reason of a depreciated exchange, bounties, subsidies and other artificial circumstances could be sold in India at prices detrimental to indigenous Industry."

Sir Leslie Hudson, by means of a cut of Rs. 100 under Customs, raised on March 28th the question of the dumping of goods into India by countries with depreciated currencies. Sir Leslie Hudson said that many factories had been forced to curtail production on account of Japanese competition, and some of them had been reduced to such a perilous condition that they were on the point of extinction. The interests affected by the competition comprised amongst others, paints, varnishes, paper, cement, pottery, porcelain, earthenware, electrical insulators, brushes, many varieties of cotton piece-goods, artificial silk goods, and many other articles produced by small and large factories. Sir Leslie Hudson said that legislation of the type pressed for existed in many countries of the world, such as, Canada, South Africa and Australia, while France and other continental countries had imposed sur-taxes on imports from countries with depreciated currencies. All over the world, steps had been taken by Governments to counteract the flooding of their markets by countries whose depreciated exchanges enabled them to undercut home industries and about ten years ago the Fiscal Commission in India had recommended the legislation now asked for. He urged that if the indigenous industry was able to make out a 'prima facie' case, that it

was being driven out of business by goods from foreign markets owing to the depreciated currencies of those countries, the Government of India should be in a position to take immediate action to prevent the ruin of that industry. He was aware of the argument that the buying of imported articles cheaply was beneficial to the consumer, but urged that the interests of the country as a whole must be considered. He would not have pressed for the demand if the present position in India was due to fair competition or the faulty management. But the present position had arisen mainly on account of the fall in Yen.

Dr. Ziauddin said that Japan could produce goods cheaper than they did in India. It was difficult to regulate the customs duty and also adjust prices according to the daily fluctuations of currency. The speaker favoured some sort of an automatic system by which dumping could be prevented and suggested the regulation of currency on the German model. The Government should fix the exchange in terms of sterling and facilitate the adjustment of rates at the customs house.

Mr. H. P. Mody reminded the House that every leading organisation in the country backed the proposal for anti-dumping measure. Let them by all means refuse help to an industry which was found to be inefficient or corrupt, but they must remember that certain industries were finding that manufactured goods were being dumped at prices lower than even the price of the raw material. Cement, cotton, thread, hosiery, sugar-candy and numerous other industries were so suffering. Underwares, which were selling in 1931 at Rs. 4-4 per dozen, were sold this year at Rs. 3 per dozen. He reminded the House that most countries in the world had taken executive powers, for the essence of the action was speed. What they wanted was executive action and speedy action, and if necessary final endorsement of that action by the Legislature.

Sir Hari Singh Gour urged that indigenous industry must be protected either by legislation or executive action. The question, however, was whether the House should empower the Government to take executive action against dumping. The stage must come when India would cease competing with Japan, and action against Japanese dumping might mean restricting the Japanese market. To-day, Lancashire was fighting Japanese competition, and the Indian Government were being asked to enact legislation to crush Japan. The Assembly stood committed to the protection of indigenous industries. That could be done by encouraging mass production, cheapening the cost, and giving facilities to shipping companies.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir explained that the demand was meant to deal with the competition brought about by a depreciated currency, and did not raise question of giving protection to any industry. If the Government did not take action now, the cottage industries in India would be completely ruined. He quoted figures to show how Japanese silk was being sold at prices which ranged between twelve to fourteen annas a yard. This had already seriously affected the silk industry in India. The Government should lose no time in taking protective action .

Mr. Raju held that a depreciated currency had no doubt created new difficulties, but the Government of India were responsible to a certain extent for the present deplorable condition of the Indian industries. India wanted an entire overhauling of the machinery of Government. To-day, the Government imposed taxes not only on machinery, but also on raw products, and no attempt was made to improve the efficiency of labour or study the con-

ditions in Japan. He strongly objected to giving any power to the Government, and urged that the Assembly should have more time to study all sides of the question.

Mr. Joshi described dumping as a war, and said that everything would depend on the resources of Japan to sell their goods at a certain price, and the resources of the Indian industries to maintain selling their goods. Dumping was not likely to succeed, for it was merely speculative, even if not a dangerous method. When legislation was passed to prevent dumping, there must be also provision for a thorough enquiry as to whether there was a need for the imposition of countervailing duties as suggested by some. At the same time, he wanted the Government to possess power to see that, as a result of the imposition of a countervailing duty the interests of the consumers were not affected, and that the duties did not remain longer than were necessary. In effect the Government should have the power to control prices.

GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, said that it was evident that there was a general consensus of opinion that immediate action was called for and that action should be taken to prevent dumping, which was the result of depreciated currency, but that the predominant consideration should be the interests of the consumer and of the indigenous industries. He admitted that the effects of the present "invasion," which resulted from dumping due to a depreciated foreign currency, had in some cases been such as to severely compete with certain indigenous commodities. The Commerce Member said that he had information that forward contracts for March and April had been placed at appreciably higher prices than those which prevailed in January. The increase in cost of living in Japan had not been reflected in any general increase of an appreciable nature in the import prices. The failure of these prices to respond to that factor, had created a position which now called for examination. At the same time they should see that nothing was done to effect any trade agreement. The whole question was engaging the Government of India's active and serious consideration, and Sir Joseph Bhore hoped that the Government's conclusion would be reached and published at an early date.

Sir Leslie Hudson withdrew the cut motion in view of the Commerce Member's assurance.

The demand under Customs was carried.

SURCHARGE ON INCOME TAX

Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi moved on February 24th a "cut" under the demand "Income-tax" and raised a debate in favour of removing the surcharge, and for restoration of the old taxable minimum. He said that the Assembly agreed that the surcharge was only to meet an emergency, and that there was no reason for its continuancce as finances were now better, one evidence of which was partial restoration of the salaries cut. The speaker said that the Government secured 350 lakhs by income-tax surcharge, and Rs. 70 lakhs through lowering the incidence of taxation, which could be made good by reducing the provision for the reduction and avoidance of debt.

Mr. Ranga Aiyar said that the intention was not to press the motion as a censure against the Finance Member, but to remind him that in India where each bread winner of the family had innumerable dependents, the incidence of taxation was falling heavily on the lower classes.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir said that the opinion of non-officials was very wellknown to the Finance Member, and if he was unable to give relief to the tax-payer, it was solely on the ground that the emergency conditions which existed eighteen months ago still continued. They, on the other hand, claimed that trade, industry, commerce and agriculture were in a worse stage than eighteen months ago and that surcharges were hitting them harder now. The remedy lay in two directions: one, the suggestion of alternative sources of revenue, and the other, in reduction of expenditure. They believed that expenditure on the Army and the Political Department was still very high, in spite of the recent reductions. The Finance Member was entitled to balance the Budget, but in return non-officials expected help from him to relieve the burden on the tax-payer.

Sir Hari Singh Gour said that the emergency which was expected to terminate in the present financial year still continued to exist. He asked what justification there was in restoring half the "cut" in salaries while proportionate relief was withheld to the general tax-payer. If the provision for War Debts had been modified, the Budget could have been balanced more easily after affording adequate relief to the tax-payer. The "cut" in pay, was imposed equally on the higher as well as the lower paid Government servants, and the latter were mostly heavily hit, owing to exemption from supertax and surcharge in the case of the former.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER'S REPLY

Sir George Schuster agreed with Mr Neogy that this motion could have been more appropriate in voting on the Finance Bill. But replying to the debate, he emphasised that it was far better to stick to sound finance than give way to sentimental appeals for reduction of taxation. The need for sound finance was greater now than ever, especially after the lesson of the United States. He claimed that England and India were preserving principles of sound finance in the world to-day.

The House divided and the cut motion was lost, 33 voting for and 41 against it.

Landholders and Reforms

Landlord and labourer had a day's debate on March 9 in the Assembly If the members of the Centre Party spoke pleading for safeguards for agriculturists and landholders in the matter of representation and taxation in the new Constitution, moving for a cut of Rs 100 under the demand of "Expenditure of the Secretary of State," Mr. N M. Joshi in the interests of Indian labour moved for a cut of the same sum under the head "Department of Industries and Labour—Welfare." The discussion, which lasted throughout the day over both the motions, was certainly interesting; and after the Government's assurances, the motions were eventually withdrawn.

Extension of Protection for Textile Industry

On March 13th the House allowed Sir Joseph Bhore to introduce the Bill extending protection to the cotton textile industry till the 31st October. The statement of objects and reasons pointed out that the Cotton Textile Industry (Protection) Act imposed protective duties on cotton piecegoods for three years in order to give the cotton mill industry in India a temporary shelter against foreign competition. By the same Act, the operation of the duty imposed by the Indian Tariff Act of 1927 was extended for a further period of three years on account of the unfair competition arising from the prevalence of inferior labour conditions in China. These duties were to expire on the 31st April 1933. As assurance was given to the legislature during the consideration of the Cotton Textile Protection Bill, that, before the termi-

nation of the three years period, the effect of the duties on the production of cotton piecegoods in India and on the Indian cotton industry would be examined by the Tariff Board. This had been done and the report of the Tariff Board was now under examination by the Government of India, the final decision on which had not yet been reached. It had, therefore, become necessary to take steps to meet the situation which would arise when the present Act would expire on the 31st March. The Bill accordingly proposed to extend the operation of the duties up to 31st October, pending the formulation of the decision of the Government of India in the matter of continued protection to the cotton textile industry.

Mr. B. Das wished that Sir Joseph Bhore had at least told the House what the millowners had done to improve their efficiency and management, to which question Sir Frank Noyce had referred in the Tariff Board report. Mr. B. Das did not however mind protecting the industry against Japanese dumping.

Mr. Raju recalled that when originally protection was granted, the statement of objects and reasons for the Bill said that it was a temporary shelter to enable the industry to reorganise itself. The House was entitled to ask whether this had been done, before protection was extended on that ground. As regards dumping he said that a depreciated currency was no case for protection, as prices adjusted themselves but in the case of a depreciating currency protection was required and instead of raising general duties, they should adopt the Tariff Board's suggestion for manipulating the duties at the customs house.

Mr. Raju finally asked why the interests of raw producers which were important, were neglected and the Government always thought of industrialists.

Messrs. Muzzam and S. C. Mitra spoke next. The latter recorded his protest on behalf of the consumers of Bengal against extending further protection. He said that even if a policy of discriminating protection was to be pursued, the House had a right to demand information relating to the dividends declared by the various mill-owning firms.

Mr. C. C. Biswas opposed to spoon-feeding. Those who advocated protection must realize that they were taking a grave responsibility on themselves.

Mr. H. P. Mody, representative of Bombay Mill-owners' Association, explained the position of the industry at length, and appealed to the Government not to ignore a national industry which employed about 400,000 workers. He ascribed the present disastrous plight of the industry solely to Japanese competition and said that in the Bombay presidency 20 per cent of the spindles and looms were idle, rendering a loss to the workers in terms of payment, of about two crores a year. Mr. Mody explained the position of the Ahmedabad mills. He quoted the observation of a prominent mill-owner, that if the present state of affairs continued, he would be obliged to throw out of employment as many as three thousand persons. It was well-known that crores worth of capital was written off. Many mills had gone into liquidation, and shareholders who invested in the industry were not getting even one per cent dividend. And all this, when the working expenses and the overhead charges had decreased. As for the use of the machinery, the industry in India compared very favourably with the mills in Lancashire. The interests of the consumer however had not suffered in the slightest degree, for there had been a drop of three annas in the price of long cloth since 1930. In grey shirtings, there had been reduction of prices. Cloth was thus selling at a cheaper rate to-day than when the duty was less than 15 per cent, and the only people who suffered were those interested in the industry.

Mr. Ghuznavi, speaking on behalf of Bengal, strongly criticised the extravagance of the millowners of Bombay which, he said, was bleeding Bengal white. The partition agitation, culminated in the boycott of British goods, and Bombay promptly imported cloth from Japan and Lancashire and sold it at exorbitant rates as Swadeshi. Bombay was exploiting the Assembly, and asking for protection time after time, but did they ever think of purchasing Indian coal for their mills? Quoting the speech of Dewan Chamanlal in 1929 in his support, the speaker pointed out that in the Budget speech of that year, Sir George Schuster himself had opined that Bombay millowners were proving inefficient, and not able to strengthen their position despite protection. It was Bombay and Bombay alone which asked for protection and more protection, whereas millowners in other parts of the country, even of Ahmedabad, never came up nor joined the Bombay mill-owners in their demand for protection.

Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar felt that besides the industrialist's and the consumer's view-points there was the view-point of the producer of raw material, which had been completely neglected. Was it because they never waited on a deputation on the Government or shouted in the Assembly? Time and again they never considered that there would be reaction on the production and sale of raw materials.

Referring to raw cotton, Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar complained that the Bombay industry, all along, had been suggesting that it was a national industry, but he asked whether they purchased a substantial quantity of the cotton produced in India. How was it a national industry, when they purchased all the machinery and cotton from foreign countries? If the mill-owners wanted to continue to have the sympathy of the Assembly and the consumers, then they must not neglect the producer of raw materials. From statistics, there was no indication that the Bombay mill-owners had increased their purchase of Indian cotton. On the other hand, the import of cotton since 1929 from America alone had increased from Rs. 70 lakhs to Rs. 341 lakhs. As to the depreciated currency of Japan as regards textile, he enquired if they even thought of the effect of the depreciated currency on the producer of raw material. It was the producer who was getting less price for his cotton. The present Bill was intended to protect the industry against unfair labour conditions in China. China took a good deal of India's rice in exchange for which India imported Chinese products. If they were to put an embargo on Chinese imports, what would become of their exports of rice? Because, they were going to penalise Japan, they were in effect penalising other countries as well, against whom they had no economic war. Japan by some mysterious way purchased Indian cotton and manufactured it and sold it in India at even below the price of the cotton itself. To that extent, they must check the dumping, and that could be done only by denouncing the Trade Agreement entered into in 1912, after twelve months notice. Only after that they would be able to fight Japan effectively. Concluding, he observed that the Government, while considering the question, must have the case of the raw producer also in view.

Mr. Joshi was not opposed to protection so long as other countries of the world were not free traders, but wanted a proper balance between agriculture and other industries. By merely increasing the protective duties, the Government would not develop industries. On the other hand, protection once granted was likely to continue for ever. Mr. Joshi therefore pleaded for a co-ordinated effort for industries as a whole. The speaker wanted to know from the millowners what they had done for developing subsidiary industries. He asserted that the Bombay mill industry had not been reorga-

nised, and asked the Government to see that reorganisation was given effect to in the interest of efficiency.

Mr. Joshi held that the wages of the textile workers had gradually been reduced, and he asked the Government to protect the workers and bargain with the mill-ownrs for shortening the hours of work as a condition to protection. The speaker pleaded for the sending of a delegation to investigate conditions of labour in China and Japan, and also to reach a settlement with those countries, rather than go on enhancing the tariff wall.

THE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, emphasised the delicacy of his making statements without disclosing the facts placed before the Government by the Tariff Board. He, however, mentioned that there was no ground for the apprehension, that as a result of successive tariff measures, the consumer was being continuously burdened, and gave figures for grey unbleached cloth, showing that since 1930, prices had been falling instead of rising.

WHEAT EXPORT DUTY BILL

Sir Joseph Bhore moved on March 21st for consideration of the Bill extending the operation of the wheat export duty for another year. Sir Joseph Bhore said that there were two factors which dominated the wheat position to-day. There was a larger surplus of wheat than last year in the non-Indian wheat exporting countries and world prices of wheat were lower than last year, and Indian wheat prices were entirely out of parity with the world prices. The Indian cultivator could not, therefore, compete with any degree of success with foreign wheat. It was true that the Indian production this year could not exceed the demand, and there would be, therefore, no surplus for export, but the moment the duty was removed, the Indian market was likely to be flooded with foreign wheat, making it unremunerative for Indians to cultivate wheat. Sir Joseph Bhore said that he did not like the Bill, but he liked still less the position in which the wheat cultivator would be placed if the duty was removed.

The Commerce Member said that there were two other questions relating to the Bill. One was whether the Indian consumer had been unduly hit by the duty, and secondly whether there were adequate safeguards to protect the consumer against a rise in prices at any time during the operation of the Bill. Sir Joseph Bhore said that the prices to-day were lower at Calcutta than they were at any time during the last ten years; and the operation of the duty had not affected the consumer. He informed the House that the rise in prices during the last few weeks had brought into India 32,000 tons of wheat from foreign countries, and thereby reduced the prices.

Sir Joseph Bhore admitted that the duty had adversely affected the export of flour from India and said that the Government were considering the means to give relief to that export trade, and would announce their policy in the near future.

Mr. Morgan, opposing the Bill, said that there had been no appreciable rise in the wheat prices, and therefore the Indian cultivator had not benefited by the duty. This position was explained by the Government in 1931. This year, there was no surplus wheat in India, and stocks were very low. There was a four per cent shrinkage in the area under wheat cultivation, and on the top of that, consumption of wheat had gone down. Mr. Morgan asserted that the burden on the consumer had been high, and the Indian flour industry, especially in the ports, had been hard hit. Bengal and Assam were especially badly affected.

Mr. Harban Singh supported the motion, and said that the cultivator found it difficult to pay land revenue and water tax, and the prices were barely enough to keep body and soul together. The effect of the removal of the duty would therefore be disastrous on him. Even in England, which was a highly industrialised country, it had now been felt that a great mistake had been done in abandoning agriculture. It would be disastrous in the case of India, where industries were yet in their infancy, if they neglected the main source of wealth. Acceptance of Mr. Morgan's proposal would mean certain ruin to the agriculturist.

Dr. Ziauddin maintained that, though the present duty was essential for raising the price level, it was not sufficient. The Government should give further relief to the agriculturists, by way of reduction of the railway freight on wheat. It was high time they took a census of gold export, and found out the parts from where gold was mainly collected. He could, however, say that the major portion came from the agricultural classes. He emphasised that they should find out a cheap method to produce wheat. But the use of machinery had been found to be entirely useless as the same was very costly and no cheap local mechanics could be found to handle the machinery cheaply. Quoting figures, the speaker held that India consumed much less than its actual production of wheat, and therefore it was necessary to restrict the importation of cheap wheat as far as possible.

Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar examined the Bill from the view points (1) whether there was an objection on principle to tax foodstuffs, (2) whether the duty was sufficient for the purpose underlying the Bill and (3) whether it adversely affected any group of people. Mr. Mudaliar said that the purpose of the Bill was not to prevent dumping or to raise the internal prices, but only for finding a home market for home produce. Conditions in India differed radically from conditions in England where there had been riots on account of food-taxes. There, most of the foodstuffs were imported, while in India they were produced internally. Wheat, till recently, was not only sufficient for home consumption, but available for export. The Sukkur barrage scheme was likely to add to this supply, and the theoretical objection against taxing foodstuffs did not hold water in the case of India. In regard to the second issue, Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar asserted that the duty had been sufficient to keep out imports from foreign countries and did not require enhancement. On the other hand, its lowering would defeat the purpose of the Bill, by opening the flood gates for foreign imports. Alluding to the third point and the objection raised by Bengal members, the speaker said that Bengal recently developed a taste for Australian wheat, but the total imports were only two per cent of the total production, and were not likely appreciably to affect internal prices. In conclusion, he wanted to know from the Government how far shipping rates were responsible for checking exports from India.

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying, regretted that he had been misunderstood by critics from Bengal. What he actually said was that if a duty was not imposed, foreign wheat would flow into the Indian market in large quantities, and thus prove disastrous to Indian production. While admitting that the consumer had to pay a little higher price, the Commerce Member at the same time maintained that the burden sought to be continued was not unreasonable. It was entirely unfair to compare the price to-day with the price two years ago, when they were forced to take measures in order to counteract those calamitous circumstances. It was then found that by merely lowering freight, they lost in railway earnings about Rs. 16 lakhs in respect of wheat alone.

Sir Joseph Bhore, quoting figures since 1923, held that they were not giving the producer an unreasonable price, by the imposition of a duty of two rupees per ton.

The amendment was rejected, after which the whole Bill extending the operation of the wheat import duty for one year was approved.

SALT BILL

Sir George Schuster, moving on March 23rd for consideration of the Salt Bill, said that this was one of the measures which were sponsored by the Government with a view to responding to the wishes of the majority in the legislature. The issue was complicated and difficult.

Mr. Morgan, opposing the Bill, said that he had warned the Finance Member from the very beginning, that a dangerous and complicated position would arise. The third report of the Salt Enquiry Committee had brought this out very clearly. Mr. Morgan claimed that there was a definite burden on Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam, in that salt imported from the duty-free ports was sold at a higher price than was warranted and the Governments of those provinces had stated their case very clearly.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed, opposing the motion, said that the salt prices in Bengal and Bihar had gone up by 25 per cent. Even with the reduction of duty, the amount of additional payment from those provinces would be Rs. 6½ lakhs in the next year. He observed that if the Government wanted to protect the industry, they should do so through bounty.

Mr. B. Das supported the motion on the ground that the ideal before them was to make India self-supporting in the matter of salt. Through the additional duty, the Government had been able to purchase machinery for the manufacture of salt at Khewra, and it was hoped during the current year that an increased quantity of finer salt would be available to satisfy Bengal. He appealed to Bengal to acquire a taste for Indian salt. Mr. Das informed the House that the Assembly Committee had recommended a bounty for Khewra salt.

Sir George Schuster said that he took his stand between those who attacked this motion, and those who supported it. The Government's present plan was experimental, and intended to stabilise the price. The whole situation would be reviewed at the end of twelve months.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Morgan moved an amendment to exclude Liverpool salt from the operation of the Bill. He said that sixty per cent of Bengalees preferred Liverpool salt, and so long as it was available at a price which did not compete with the indigenous produce, it should be allowed free of duty.

Mr. Neogy opposed the amendment and said that personally he was prepared to levy a higher duty in order to prevent Liverpool salt from invading the Bengal market.

Sir George Schuster said that this proposal was outside the scope of the plan.

Mr. B. Das quoted from the telegram of the Salt Merchants' Association, who wanted a large quantity of foreign salt to be imported and criticised their attitude.

Mr. Morgan's amendment was lost.

Mr. Morgan next moved an amendment that, in the case of Liverpool salt, the additional duty shall be at the rate of one anna per maund.

Mr. Das opposed it.

Mr. Morgan wanted an assurance that an enquiry would be instituted to ascertain if Liverpool salt was not sold at a price which did not affect the indigenous industry.

Sir George Schuster promised a departmental enquiry with that end in view.

Mr. Morgan's amendment was rejected.

The motion for the passage of the Bill was then taken up.

Assembly President and Deputy President

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah having resigned the Presidentship of the Assembly on March 3rd on account of ill health Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Deputy President was unanimously elected President on March 14th Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury was elected on March 21st as Deputy President, by 64 votes as against Mr. Yamin Khan, who secured 56 votes.

Emergency Income-Tax

Discussion on Mr. S. G. Jog's amendment to the Finance Bill proposing the raising of the incidence of income-tax to Rs. 1500 was resumed in the Assembly on March 24th.

Mr. Sadiq Hussan and Mr. C. C. Biswas supported the amendment.

Sir George Schuster, Finance Member, asked the House to realize the gravity of the vote on the subject. Besides the loss of Rs. 35 lakhs to the Government, which they could ill-afford in the present state of emergency, the issue involved was whether they should exempt the small income-tax payers, who were mostly money-lenders from direct taxation. These numbered only 350,000 among the 350 millions, and even if this class were eliminated, the burden of the tax would remain top-heavy and fall on a small class. Moreover, they should remember that when the pre-war level of income-tax was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000, it was only because of the rise in prices. Now, there was a fall in prices, and the lower limit of Rs. 1,000 restored the balance. Another factor was that whereas, before the War, this class paid four pies in the rupee, all the others paid five pies in the rupee. Now, the other classes were paying much higher. Sir George Schuster also mentioned that the result of the amendment giving relief to the tax-payer up to Rs. 1,500 would be a loss to the provinces.

Mr. Jog's amendment was negatived.

OTTAWA TRADE AGREEMENT ACT AMENDING BILL

The statement of objects and reasons of the Ottawa Trade Agreement Act Amending Bill states:

A few inaccuracies and discrepancies in the Indian Tariff (Ottawa Trade Agreement) Amendment Act have been brought to light by a further scrutiny of the schedules to that Act, and by the practical experience of the new tariffs. The object of the Bill is to correct them. For instance, ferrous sulphate (green iron sulphate) is the same substance as green copperas and the necessary correction, therefore, has been made. The Bill also supplies an omission by including moist white lead among painter's materials.

The Bill further makes tea chests and parts and fittings thereof subject to an ordinary non-preferential rate of duty.

By the Trade Agreement, gas mantles of British origin are entitled to a ten per cent preference. To secure this definitely and, to ensure that these articles, when made of artificial silk, are not assessed, the words "incandescent mantles" have been specifically included. The provision has also been redrafted so as to include oils other than mineral, pure and mixed, which are not ordinarily used for any purpose other than lubrication.

The Trade Agreement provides for the grant to the Colonies of a preference on drugs and medicines and on soda ash and other carbonates of soda, and provides for no preference on other chemicals. Since customs and administrative difficulties make it impossible to differentiate between the unspecified chemicals, on the one hand, and drugs and medicines on the other, unspecified chemicals, if any, which are the produce of the Colonies were included along with drugs and medicines in the original Act. This condition does not obtain in regard to specified glass-making chemicals, in respect of which, there need be no colonial preference. Accordingly, it is proposed to delete the entry.

Originally fountain pens were included under "Stationery," but it is now proposed to insert in the import schedule a new item for gold, and gold-plated nibs, and to fix the preferential rate of duty on them at 40 per cent ad valorem, and the standard rate at 50 per cent ad valorem. Liquid gold and crucibles for glass-making are now included, with a standard duty of 25 per cent. and a preferential duty of 15 per cent ad valorem.

ASSEMBLY FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Standing Finance Committee disposed on January 26th of all the items on the agenda. Almost all the items were non-controversial, except the grant of compensation to the Delhi Race Course Company, in respect of movable property provided by the Company in connection with the race course. The amount asked for was nearly Rs. 35,000 which was intended to be met by reappropriation.

A supplementary grant of Rs. 52,000 out of a total grant of 1,05,522 for the completion of works at the Civil Aerodrome at Juhu (Bombay) was agreed to, the rest of the amount to be met by reappropriation.

The other important grants approved of were:—

Rs. 3,15,000 in respect of excess of expenditure in the budget estimates for the meteorological department. The Government expect a corresponding increase in the receipts of the Posts and Telegraphs.

A grant amounting to Rs. 62,370 in respect of new items of expenditure relating to the works programme for the Civil Aviation Department in India.

RAILWAY BUDGET

Dr. Ziauddin opened the general discussion on the budget. He criticised the under-estimating of expenditure, and said that it was much more than 49 crores. He calculated the total deficit at the end of the year at 10 crores, and urged the Railway Board to make serious efforts to restore the equilibrium. They should encourage cheap travelling and the movement of goods, and thus facilitate an increase of trade. Concluding, he pleaded for a decrease in the interest charges.

Mr. B. Das described the Railway Member as the third Czar in the Railway Kingdom, the first two Czars being Sir Charles Innes and Sir George Rainy. He criticised the Railway Retrenchment Committee for not having done its duty and postponed everything in the nature of real economy to another expert enquiry. And now, they were hunting for experts. The Chief Commissioner of Railways had referred to the Canadian Pacific Railway system. But, would he also reveal the gross mismanagement which was wrought in that system ?

Mr. Das objected to the proposal that railways should run their own bus services on roads in competition with private enterprise, and said that the Railway Board could not conceal their mismanagement of railways by

running bus services. The immediate need of the hour was ruthless economy. Mr. Das asked the Board to instruct the Agents of Railways to give up the mad orgy of duplicating staff and attempt to bring freshness of mind to bear in respect of the senior staff. Concluding, Mr. Das agreed with Dr. Ziauddin in urging for a reduction of the interest charges, and suggested that Sir Joseph Bhore should consult the Financial Commissioner and also the Finance Member and taking advantage of the conversion scheme to bring down the rate of interest on loans taken at high rates.

Mr. Ghuznavi contended that about Rs. 15 lakhs worth Railway traffic had been diverted from the Railways to the B. I. S. N. Shipping Company, on the pretext that it was cheaper in the interest of the M. and S. M. Railway to ship than rail it, but owing to the fact that this coal was loaded and unloaded at numerous places, the loss in dust was far greater than the saving on transport.

Railway Collieries

Mr. Ghuznavi next remarked that the Railway collieries were second class ones and should be closed as it was economic to close them than run them. Already the Government, as a result of last year's debate, had ordered tenders for raising coal and in one case they got a tender for thirteen annas against twenty-two annas paid previously. This year they might have raised only eleven lakhs worth of coal, but in the past it was forty to fifty lakhs. Then again Railway stores showed a colossal loss. It was stated that Rs. 54 lakhs, worth of stores had been discovered as not shown in the books at all. He asked how much then must be the extent of pilfering, theft and other losses. When the E. I. R. and E. B. R., owned by the State, had offices in Calcutta adjacent to each other, why did they keep a double establishment ? Their combined mileage was not bigger than N. W. R. Why not at least combine the Chief Medical Officers' posts, when the whole of Bengal could be run by one Surgeon-General ? They could easily make a saving of Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 lakhs by amalgamating the E. I. R. and E. B. R.

Mr. Morgan, congratulating the Railway Member, asserted that the Indian railways were the best worked in the whole world. He was glad that the Government intended to inquire into the condition of the contribution from the depreciation fund. No expert need be invited to examine the data placed before the Government by Mr. Pope and his Committee, for India already had an ample supply of experts, one proof of which was last year's satisfactory working of the railways.

Mr. Morgan urged that all increments should be held in abeyance till better financial results were available. The Government should investigate the possibility of setting up an agency for liquidation of the indebtedness of the subordinate staff.

Mitchell-Kirkness Report

The speaker referred to the Mitchell-Kirkness Report, and claimed that the bulk of the traffic carried by bus was not taken from the railways, but was a new one. He pleaded for greater amenities for third class passengers in order to fight the bus competition. A Minister for Transport had now become a necessity for the co-ordination of railways, bus and inland steamer services. Mr. Morgan pleaded for the lowering of rates and fares and hoped that the expenditure on Railway collieries would be kept down to the minimum. In conclusion, the speaker enquired if the Government would investigate the question of the introduction of motor engines on Indian railways.

Mr. Sullivan claimed that most of the anticipations in the next year's revenues were put without any data, and the results might not be according

to anticipations, as the earnings of railways depended on the revival of the world trade, which factor was outside their scope. He endorsed Mr. Morgan's plea for liquidation of the lower staff's indebtedness, and urged that the Government should undertake a most stringent legislation as the present law of the country was inadequate.

Mr. Rameshwar Pershad Bagla pleaded for lowering the rates and fares and the introduction of week-end coupon books, as also the withdrawal of the Lee concessions. The speaker asserted that there was over-staffing in Railways, which needed pruning as also curtailment of high salaries, with a view to running railways run on commercial lines.

Economy

Ba Maung, Burman Member, in his maiden speech, pleaded for economy in Burma Railways and suggested the abolition of unnecessary posts such as those of Superintendent, and Assistant Superintendent, Catering Department. The speaker next advocated the appointment of Burmans in both the higher and the lower railway services in Burma, preference being given to them in selection. Burma was suffering from economic depression, and for the time being there was large unemployment. The speaker also mentioned that as the railway policy and expenditure was controlled by the Assembly, the Railway Member should see to it that at least two Assembly members from Burma were appointed to the Burma Railways Advisory Committee.

Wastage

Sir Henry Gidney said that the House had a right to demand an answer to Mr. Ghuznavi's charges whether a waste of Rs. 20 lakhs was occuring yearly owing to wrong policy. Then again, the Railway Board was not playing fair to the B. N. Railway, by shipping coal to the M. & S. M. Railway. "Why don't you use the Railway? Is not blood thicker than water? Would you not provide employment to so many unemployed and use your engines and wagons which are rusting?"

Sir Henry Gidney passed a strong indictment on the divisional system. "You started it for economy and efficiency. It has led to neither. The railways are not efficient. The staff is multiplied, and it has led to extravagance and lavish expenditure. So also, has your schemes of separation of audit from accounts led to higher expenditure. You have not listened to the advice of the Retrenchment Committee. You have thrown into the waste-paper basket the suggestion to amalgate the head office administration of the E. I. and E. B. Railways. You keep two Chief Medical Officers, one of whom is engaged as Vice-Chancellor of the biggest Indian University. It is all, Sir, financial profligacy. It is high time there were big cuts in the Railway Board. All your retrenchment proposals are economy postponed."

Sir Henry Gidney next asked what had been done to safeguard railway servants from the Kabuli money-lender. He finally mentioned that they had always been told that the Railway Board consisted of experts. "If you are experts, why do you always cry out for experts? Hereafter you will also ask for experts to enquire into the injury caused to railway profits by bullock-carts. Sir, we want in the Railway Board, not Agents, but men with business experience. Take some members from this House or other business-men, and Sir Joseph Bhore would find his budget balanced all right."

High Rates

Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar held that it was not enough for the Government to say that, God willing, the next budget would be better. They should have investigated the causes of the present deficit. He referred to the policy of high rates for the transport of rice on the South Indian Railway, which had been responsible for ruining the rice market in Ceylon. He pleaded that the Government should look into the matter and see that

there was no further damage done to the Indian rice market. He suggested improvements in the system of Indian refreshment rooms. The speaker pointed out that it took six hours for the Grand Trunk Express to reach Delhi from Agra, which distance could be covered by a motor bus in four hours. He advised the curtailment of stoppages.

Top Heavy Administration

Mr. Thampan urged that the Civil Disobedience movement and depression were not wholly responsible for the lowering of the earnings of railways. It was due to top-heavy administration. He instanced cases on the Assam Bengal and Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways, where expenses had been mounting up with the lowering of revenues.

Mr. Sitaram Raju felt that the wiping out of the reserve, contributions from the depreciation fund, borrowing with a view to making both ends meet and yet saying that the position of the railways was sound, was like the War phraseology "All Quiet on the Western front." He wanted the Government to state in what shape the depreciation fund, was and how it was employed.

OFFICIAL REPLY

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, had to repeat the arguments used in the Council of State on 18th. February. He assured the House that the rates and fares would not be allowed to stand at a figure when the law of diminishing returns would begin to operate. It was natural for them to expect that the Government should assist industries by preferential rates, but they could not at the same time ask the department to be run commercially. The Commerce Member welcomed Dr. Ziauddin's change of position from a destructive to a constructive critic. As regards Mr. Ghuznavi, the speaker had always understood that coal generated heat. The Government had issued a circular that in future tenders should be called for raising coal. There was no basis for the charge that freight and surcharge had increased the import of foreign coal, as it had fallen from 39,000 tons in 1931 to 8,000 tons in 1932. As regards the charge made by Mr. Sullivan, he said that there was no camouflage. If there had been one, Dr. Ziauddin would have discovered it.

Sir Joseph Bhore promised to look into the question of Burmanisation of the Railway Services in Burma. He welcomed Sir Henry Gidney who had returned from London with restored vitality, as was shown by his speech. Sir Henry Gidney had asked why they should have an expert committee, but Sir Henry Gidney was a member of the Retrenchment Committee which suggested an expert committee. Sir Joseph Bhore assured Mr. Yamin Khan that the speaker's mind was already working in the direction of ascertaining where the chief fall in railway earnings occurred, and its causes.

Finally, Sir Joseph Bhore assured the House that railways had committed errors in the past, but the position was intrinsically sound.

INTERPELLATIONS

INTERMEDIATE CLASS ACCOMMODATION.

Nawab Maharsinghji Ishwarsinghji raised the subject of Intermediate class accommodation and the urgent need of the same being increased on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway by vigorous questions on February 23.

The same member was informed by Mr. P. R. Rau that cheap third class return tickets were now issued by North-Western Railway between ten different places in the Punjab. The question of issuing similar tickets for

higher classes was considered but the proposal was rejected as it involved a loss of revenue without the countervailing advantages. Mr. P. R. Rau denied the rumour that Government intended to hand over the management of the G. I. P. Railway to the B. B. & C. I., the Bengal-Nagpur and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways.

Mr. N. M. Joshi wanted to know if second and first classes on the Indian State-owned railway paid their way and inquired if the Government could collect the necessary statistics before the introduction of the Railway Budget and prepare a note showing whether first and second classes had paid their way for the past ten years.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh asked if it was not true that the Government had stated in their administration report, that ninety-five per cent of the earnings of the State Railways were from third class and further wanted to know if it was the contention of the Government that in the light of these second and first classes still paid their way.

Mr. P. R. Rau wanted notice.

GOLD EXPORTS.

Some interesting sidelight was thrown on gold export from India in recent months by the Government in reply to a question by Mr. Maswood Ahmed who wanted to know the weight in tolas and the total value of the gold exported up to January 31, 1933.

The Finance Member stated that he could give figures for December alone and said they were to the tune of 14 1/2 millions of ounces, valued approximately at Rs. 111½ crores.

Mr. H. P. Mody asked the Finance Member what he thought of this huge export and enquired if this export of gold was beneficial to the country.

Mr. Arthur Moore wanted to know if it was not possible to levy a small export tax on gold and build up a sort of reserve for the Reserve Bank.

Sir George Schuster, replying, said that it was very difficult to deal with such details, when they were in the form of supplementary questions. He failed to perceive what possible connection there could be betwween the proposed Reserve Bank, when it came into being and the suggested export tax.

INDIANS IN FIJI

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh on February 6th asked a series of questions regarding passport facilities for Indians to the Fiji Islands.

Mr. Metcalfe, Foreign Secretary, said that the Fiji Government had represented that the sex disproportion in the local Indian population was very marked, and requested that no passport or visa for Fiji be granted to any Indian male unless he was accompanied by his wife, or he produced evidence that he was a resident of Fiji or the consent of the Fiji Government was obtained. The Government of India accepted and issued instructions accordingly to the passport-issuing authorities. There was no discrimination against Indians since similar restrictions were imposed on other races when a similar sex disproportion existed.

Regarding the issue of passport facilities to Pandit Krishna Sharma, the Home Member said that it was understood that the Fiji Government apprehended that his activities were likely to cause communal trouble.

As regards Indian students in Fiji schools, Mr. Bajpai quoted the annual report for the year 1931, issued by the Fiji Government, in which it was stated that the total number of Indians enrolled in all the schools was 4531, and that the net expenditure incurred on the education of Indians and Europeans was about £9,815 and £5,762 respectively.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS WITH RAILWAYS

Mr. P. R. Rau, answering Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, said that the contract with the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company originally provided for its deter-

mination at the end of 1930, or any succeeding fifth year. The supplemental agreement was entered into in 1913, whereby this provision was cancelled, and the contract was made determinable at the end of 1941, or any succeeding fifth year. The contract with the Bengal Nagpur Railway was extended in 1912 and it was terminable at the end of 1950 or any succeeding fifth year. Under the terms of the contract which was recently entered into with the Bengal North-Western Railway, Mr. Rau said, the Government had the option of purchasing the Company's railway on 31st December 1937 or 31st December 1942 on giving twelve calendar months previous notice writing. The earliest date which notice could be given, therefore, was nearly four years hence.

DEOLI CAMP VISITING BOARD

Sir Harry Haig, answering Mr. Hitra, on Feb. 8th regarding the Visiting Committee of the Deoli Detention Camp, said that the Committee was composed as follows:—Two officials, namely, the Chairman, Municipal Committee, Deoli, and the Deputy Magistrate, Kekri, and one non-official, namely, Mr. D. H. Vakil.

THE POPE ENQUIRY

Replying to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Mr. P. R. Rau, Financial Commissioner for Railways, said that the estimated cost of the enquiry by Mr. Pope, who had come from England, would be Rs. 15,000, and would be met from the lump sum of Rs. 50,000, granted by the Legislative Assembly for such investigations.

SALARIES "CUT" RESTORATION

Sir George Schuster referred Mr. Lalchand Navalrai to the recent communique, when the latter wanted to know if it was not the express intention of Government to limit the operation of the ten per cent "cut" to March 1933. The Finance Member said that the extra expediture which the Government would incur as a result of reducing the "cut" to five per cent, would come before the Assembly for approval. So far as the Government were concerned, they would recoup quite a substantial proportion of the extra amount incurred on the salaries expenditure by the income-tax levied on the salaries of Government officials. The question of restoration did not relate to new services and hence was not placed before the Standing Committee of the Assembly.

TERRORIST CRIMES

Sir Harry Haig answered Mr. Mitra's question on Feb. 8th relating to the persons convicted to terrorist activities. Twenty-five prisoners who were connected with terrorist crime were sent to the Andamans between January and October 1932, and fifty more were sent since then. The Home Member was not prepared to furnish particulars of their names and offences. But he emphasised that there were no female convicts included among them. He stated that the Government had accepted the general principle that prisoners convicted of terrorist crime should be liable to be sent to the Andamans.

RICE IMPORTS INTO INDIA

Mr. Bajpai, Education Secretary, answering Mr. Maswood Ahmed, said that the Government were aware that the recent downward tendency in the price of rice had been a source of anxiety. The Government had received a telegram from the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce about the large import of rice into India. The Government had given careful consideration to the question of levying an import duty with a view to protecting Indian rice production, but had come to the conclusion that such action would not have the desired effect. The latest figures showed that less than 27,000 tons of foreign rice were imported into India from April to December

1932, while the exports of Burma rice to foreign countries during that year amounted nearly to 2.69 million tons. While the exportable surplus of such a magnitude was available to India, the fate of the rice industry must depend upon the price which the exportable surplus commanded and it could not be influenced by any import duty that might be imposed upon imports which constituted a very small fraction of this surplus.

BAN ON DR. ALAM

Answering Mr. Jagannath Agarwal's question regarding the prohibition of entry into Kenya of Dr. Alam, Barrister of Lahore, Mr. Bajpai stated that the Government of India understood that the Commissioner of Police, Nairobi, intimated that if Dr. Alam had been sentenced to imprisonment he would not be allowed to enter Kenya. The Government had no further information on the point.

INDIANS IN PANAMA

Mr. Metcalfe, Foreign Secretary, replying to Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, on February 9th regarding Indians in the Republic of Panama (America), said that approximately the number of Indians in Panama in 1931 was stated to be 1,000, a majority of whom were interested in business. The Government of India had no information that the Panama Government had prohibited Indians from going to the Harbour area without permission, whereas no such restriction was put on other Asiatics including Chinese and that the people had been openly maligning Indian merchants by issuing circulars and pamphlets with a view to ousting Indian interests.

Mr. Metcalfe promised to enquire from His Majesty's Government whether there was any foundation for these complaints. So far as the Government were aware, the only restriction imposed was the prohibition of Indian immigration unless Indians came to establish themselves with capital in a bank. This restriction had been recently modified, so as to permit Indian commercial houses already established in that country, to replace Indian employees in the event of death or absence.

NEW ROUTE FOR AIR MAIL

Replying to Mr. Maswood Ahmed, Sir Frank Noyce admitted on February 23rd that the England-India air route had again been altered. The agreement with the Persian Government which allowed the Imperial Airways to use aerodromes along the northern side of the Persian Gulf expired on the 10th of October 1932. His Majesty's Government, therefore, arranged that a new route which had been prepared along the Arabian shore of the Gulf should be used.

ENHANCED DUTY ON IMPORTED NEWS-PRINT

Mr. K. P. Thampan asked on February 23rd. May I know, Sir, whether the word 'Newsprint' was deliberately removed from item No. 120 of the Ottawa Agreement Tariff Schedule at the time when the matter was under consideration or was it done inadvertently ?

Hon. Sir Joseph Bhore: All I can say is that this matter was brought to my notice when I was in Calcutta last and there does appear prima facie to have been a mistake, I am looking into the matter and if there has been any mistake, I promise to introduce an amending Bill so as to rectify the mistake that has been made.

Mr. Arthur Moore: May I ask, whether Government, when drafting that Bill, will make it retrospective, so that the duty collected in error in the last two or three months will be refunded?

Hon. Sir Joseph Bhore: That, Sir, is another question altogether and I cannot give my honourable friend any assurance on that point.

MADRAS CENTRAL LAND MORTGAGE BANK.

Mr. Bajpai, replying to Mr. Thampan Feb. 27th regarding the declaration of debentures of the Madras Central Land Mortgage Bank as trustee securities, stated that the Government of Madras had made representations to the Government of India to amend Sec. 20 of the Indian Trust Act to declare the debentures of the Central Land Mortgage Bank, Madras, as trustee securities. The Government of India understood that the debentures of the Central Land Mortgage Bank, Madras, were floated on mortgage transferred to it by primary land mortgage banks. The Local Government had guaranteed interest on the debentures to be issued in the first five years to the extent of Rs. 50 lakhs until the debentures were paid off or redeemed by the bank. The Government of India did not propose to introduce necessary legislation, but they considered that the question of extending the list of All-India trustee securities was one which should be deferred until the new Constitution had been framed.

MADRAS STATE PRISONERS

The Home Member in answer to Mr. Mitra's question regarding the allowances and the health of the Bengal State prisoners in the Madras presidency, stated that for a short period a rate higher than the existing rate was allowed under misapprehension, but the existing rate was the first rate that received due sanction and it had not since been varied and the amount was considered adequate. Government received no complaints regarding the restriction in the number of meals.

P. & O. CO'S SUBSIDY

Replying to Mr. Mitra on March 20th regarding the subsidy paid to the Peninsular and Oriental Company for carrying mails between India and England, Sir Thomas Ryan stated on March 20th that the subsidy was paid by the Indian Posts and Telegraphs to the company which held a contract with His Majesty's Postmaster-General, London. The contribution made by India to the British Post Office towards the payment made by the latter to the Peninsular Company for the conveyance of mails, was £32,244 during 1930-31. In addition to this, £19,576 was paid to the British Post Office for sea transit charges on parcels conveyed by the company's steamers from India during the same year. The existing contract between His Majesty's Postmaster-General and the Peninsular and Oriental Company came into force on 1st February 1908. In each of the three years immediately preceeding this, India paid £56,485 including charges for transit of parcels. The question of calling tenders from other companies did not arise, as the contract was not with the Government of India. A reduction of passage fares could not affect payments made for the conveyance of mails, which were fixed for the period of the various contracts.

PASSAGE CONCESSIONS

The Home Member admitted on March 6th to Mr. Neogy that certain representations urging restriction of passage concessions for officers of the Government of India to British ships had been made. These were under consideration, and the Government regretted that they could not at present make a statement on the subject.

Mr. Neogy drew the attention of the Home Member to the statement made at the P. and O. shareholders meeting in December by its Chairman that stockholders in their capacity as tax-payers were paying the fares of those who enjoyed the Lee concessions.

NEWSPAPERS SUBSCRIBED FOR BY INDIA GOVERNMENT

Sir Harry Haig, Home Member, laid a statement on the table on March 2nd showing the number of Indian dailies purchased by different Departments of the Government of India. It showed in tabular form the number of newspapers subscribed by the Government of India. The Government spent as much as Rs. 3,329-14-0 by way of subscriptions alone over these dalies.

PASSPORT FOR SUBHAS BOSE

Sir Harry Haig, replying to Mr. Satyen Mitra, said on March 23rd that the passport issued to Sj. Subhas Bose excluded entrance into the United Kingdom and Germany. Stating the reasons, he said that the withdrawal of Regulation III was necessary for reasons of health only and the Government did not think it desirable that he should visit countries other than where medical treatment was available. There was no reason to believe that he had severed his connection with the movement of revolutionary violence. The German Government was not consulted in this matter.

Sir Harry Haig further told Mr. Mitra that the warrant under Regulation III of 1818 was withdrawn with effect from the date on which Sj. Subhas Bose left India and that he and his relatives were previously informed that this would be done.

COST OF MEERUT CASE

In the Assembly on February 21st Sir Harry Haig informed Mr. Satyen Mitra that the total expenditure incurred by the Government of India over the Meerut Conspiracy case amounted to Rs. 16,67,108 up to the 31st of January 1933. The prisoners in that case were recommended to be placed in "C" class by the trying court but the Home Member had not any information as to the grounds on which the recommendation was made. They had been placed in "B" class under the orders of the United Provinces Government with whom rests the final responsibility for determining the classification. Under the rules in forces, the prisoners while under trial may be granted certain concessions to which there can be no claim on their conviction as treatment thereafter must be regulated by the classification finally determined.

C. D. CONVICTIONS

Replying to a question by Lala Rameswar Bagla, Sir Harry Haig said on March 2nd that the number of persons convicted though not necessarily sentenced to imprisonment for offences connected with the Civil Disobedience movement since the revival of the movement upto the end of January 1933 was 69030 and the number of those undergoing imprisonment till the end of January 1933 was 13788.

Under the first category 13390 were from the United Provinces, 13240 from Bombay, 12091 from Bengal, 12769 from Bihar, 5825 from the North-west Frontier Provinces, 3232 from Madras and 1712 from the Punjab.

Among the persons still undergoing incarceration are 3532 from Bombay 2824 from the United Provinces, 1704 from Bengal, 2035 from Bihar and 1051 from Madras.

PRISONERS SENT TO ANDAMANS

Mr. Maswood Ahmed was informed by the Home Member that the Government had no intention of sending the Meerut Conspiracy Case prisoners to the Andamans. The Home Member further said that during 1931.

1113 prisoners were sent to the Andamans, 902 in 1932 and 41 in January 1933.

RAILWAY STAFF

Mr. P. R. Rau in reply to Sardar Sant Singh's question asking for a statement showing the total number of subordinates, inferior and workshop employees retrenched on state-managed railways up to March 15 gave the following figures:—

E. B. R.—European and Anglo-Indians—24, Indians—1,439.

E. I. R.—Europeans 112, Anglo-Indians 189, Indians 12,319.

G. I. P.—Europeans 45, Anglo-Indians 133, Indians 5,475 (excluding the retrenched staff who were re-employed).

N. W. R.—Europeans 2, Anglo-Indians 22, Indians 9,229.

FIT FOR ANDAMANS

Sir Harry Haig replying to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question in the Assembly on February 25th said that Shivarama, a prisoner in the Lahore Conspiracy Case had not been removed to Andamans and they were still detained in the Berhampur Jail. Sir Harry Haig further said that prisoners to be transferred to Andamans must be certified by a Medical Board as fit for deportation. In all five Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners were transferred to Andamans from jails in the Madras Presidency.

HEALTH OF STATE PRISONERS

The Home Member informed on the same date Mr. Satyen Mitra that State prisoners Surendra Ghose, Jiban Chatterjee and Protul Ganguly were still in Trichinopoly jail and that the latest medical report showed that their health was satisfactory. The Government of India had not received any complaints about restriction in the number of meals of these prisoners.

DETENUS OUTSIDE BENGAL

Regarding confinement of detenus from Bengal in the Deoli detention jail Sir Harry Haig said that at present 97 were detained there but the enlarged jail would be capable of accommodating 500 detenus in all including those at present under detention there. The Home Member was unable to state when the work would be completed or when the transfer of additional detenus from Bengal to Deoli would take place.

Sir Harry Haig further said that the Government of India had received representations from detenus Monoranjan Gupta, Arun Guha, Bhupendra Dutt and Satyabhusan Gupta who were detained in the Mianwali jail regarding delay in the transmission of correspondence. The whole matter was thoroughly examined and it was found that complaints were not justified.

SJ. SARAT BOSE

As regards State Prisoner Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose the Home Member informed Mr. Mitra that he was suffering from glycosuria for a considerable time prior to his incarceration. The request of Mr. Sarat Bose for a companion was recommended by the Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore and this request was still under consideration of the Government. Mr. Bose requested to be allowed to have motor drives but it was not found possible to arrange for this at Jubbulpore. Instructions were however issued to give him proper facilities for evening walks.

EXPULSION OF CHETTIAR BANKERS

Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar asked a short notice question on March 27th regarding the order of expulsion passed on four Chettiar bankers of Saigon by the Government of Indo-China.

Mr. Metcalfe said that the Government of Indo-China had recently issued orders that the execution of money decrees, especially decrees for debts on agriculturists, must be reduced to a minimum. The order was issued to safeguard peasants against whom a number of decrees was held by the Chetty community. Four persons against whom the order of expulsion had been served had insisted on proceeding with the execution of decrees and therefore had been ordered to leave the country.

On receipt of this report the Government of India sent a telegram to His Majesty's Government supporting the request which had already been made to the Indo-China Government by His Majesty's Consular representative in Saigon for postponement of execution of the order. The Government of India had also requested that the matter should be represented to the French Government through diplomatic channels. The latest information was that the Consul General's requests for postponement of execution of the order had been refused and the persons concerned had either already left Saigon or were leaving within the next two days.

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar:—Is it a fact that this order has been served only on Chetties, while other creditors who proceeded with the executions were not similarly treated?

Mr. Metcalfe:—That is not my information. This is a general order which was issued by the Indo-China Government in exercise of their sovereign rights.

Mr. H. P. Mody:—If expulsion has already taken place, do the Government propose to take diplomatic action ?

Mr. Metcalfe:—It is not within the competence of the Government of India to do so. They have already requested His Majesty's Government to discuss the situation with the French Government through the British Ambassador. They could do nothing more at present.

Mr. F. E. James:—Will the Hon'ble Member represent to His Majesty's Government the very strong feelings among all communities, particularly in South India, that this action is tantamount to discrimination and expropriation and represent this feeling to His Majesty's Government?

Mr. Metcalfe:—His Majesty's Government has already been informed by telegram that the issue has roused great public interest and indignation.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION

The President on March 29th intimated the House that Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar had given notice to move for an adjournment of the House on a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, expulsion of four Chettiar bankers of Siagon by the executive orders of the Indo-China Government and that this was discriminatory and involved violation of natural laws of justice.

Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Leader of the House, opposed the adjournment on two grounds. Firstly, because the motion itself says that the orders were carried out, and if the four bankers in question were expelled there was no urgency. The second objection was more fundamental as the motion affected the position of His Majesty's Government in relation to the French Government. The motion described the order of the French Government as discriminatory and involving violation of the natural law of justice. When an attack was made on the order of a foreign Government in these terms, it certainly affected the relations of His Majesty's Government with the Government of France.

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar pointed out that the matter was urgent as other bankers were also threatened with similar action. Regarding the objection that the motion affected His Majesty's Government's relations with the French Government, Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar said that the motion

sought to urge His Majesty's Government to make a representation through diplomatic channels to the French Government and the House was the only forum where the hardships of their country could be discussed.

Mr. James supported Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar.

The President did not agree with the Law Member that the matter was not urgent as other bankers were threatened with expulsion. Regarding the other point, the President said that if Indian nationals suffered hardships it was perfectly open to the House to bring the matter up for discussion through a resolution, question or adjournment motion and make a representation to His Majesty's Government to move in the matter. But Mr. Chetty held that the motion as worded amounted to condemnation of the French Government's action, which could not be permitted. He suggested to Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar to omit the words "discriminatory action," and "violation of natural law of justice."

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar said that he was prepared to accept the Chair's advice.

Sir B. L. Mitter was then asked if he had any objection to the amended motion. Sir B. L. Mitter wanted time to consider the amendment.

The President said that he would waive the question of urgency if the motion was brought up the next day to which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar agreed.

U. S. IMMIGRATION RULES

Replying to Mr. Gayaprasad Singh, Mr. Metcalfe, Foreign Secretary, stated on March 3 that the United States Department of Labour had recently announced that they would henceforward enforce as strictly as possible the immigration rule which ran as follows:

"Any immigrant student admitted to the United States as a non-quota immigrant under the provisions of sub-division (e), Section 4 of the Immigration Act 1924, who fails, neglects, or refuses regularly to attend the school, college, academy, seminary or university to which he has been admitted, or who otherwise fails, neglects, or refuses to maintain the status of a bona-fide student or who is expelled from such institution or who engages in any business or occupation for profit or who labours for hire shall be deemed to have abandoned his status as immigrant student, and shall, on a warrant from the Secretary of the Labour Department, be taken into custody and deported."

The Department had, on the other hand, agreed as the result of protests from college presidents and educational authorities, to interpret this rule so as to permit alien students to work in exchange for their room and board or in part-payment for their tuition, but not to obtain funds from employment outside the institution where they were studying or the lodgings in which they were residing. The rule, as thus interpreted, would affect students of any other nationality and if they offended against the provisions of the rule, they would be liable to arrest and deportation.

COUNCIL OF STATE

RAILWAY BUDGET

The following are extracts from the speech of the Chief Commissioner for Railways introducing the budget in the Council of State on February 7th.

Retrenchment

It must be realised as inevitable that any reduction in working expenses means a reduction in staff. During the year 1932-33 Government found it necessary to resume retrenchment of railway staff which had, with minor exceptions, been suspended since July 1931. In all, it was found that about 9,000 men were surplus, but to minimise hardship as far as possible, it was decided to offer more favourable terms to encourage voluntary retirement, and I am glad to say that between four and five thousand, or about 50 per cent of the whole, have already availed themselves of these terms. I think, moreover, it is probable that a good proportion of the balance will also do so as the terms of voluntary retirement have in certain instances been extended beyond the original time-limit fixed, which was October 31st, 1932.

Retrenchment of staff has been inevitable, but I do not wish the House to think that nothing constructive as regards staff has been done during the year. Though restricted by financial considerations we have made certain progress in matters affecting staff welfare. For instance, the Hours of Work Rules introduced originally on the North-Western and East Indian Railways were extended to the Great Indian Peninsula and Eastern Bengal Railways; and other railway administrations, to which the regulations have not yet been statutorily enforced, have been instructed constantly to revise their hours of work where the latter are unreasonable, so as to bring them into conformity with the new rules, and the Railway Board are keeping closely in touch with this important question.

Road-Rail Competition

There is one factor which has undoubtedly had an effect on our railway earnings. I refer to motor competition. The House has doubtless seen allusions in the Press to an enquiry recently undertaken for the Government of India into the subject of co-ordination of the road and rail systems of transport of the country. As is well known, road development and motor transport have made considerable strides in India during the last few years and have been especially stimulated by the inauguration of the Central Road Development account which was the principal outcome of the Indian Road Development Committee. Much has been done to improve the standard of main trunk roads in India to make them suitable for motor traffic, and as many of these main trunk roads run side by side with railways, the public motor vehicles plying over them have to some extent been taking traffic from the railways, especially short distance passenger traffic. We have no reason to think that this process has developed very far in India, but in other countries competition between road and rail transport has grown to such an extent so to be wasteful and uneconomic, and it is important that we should learn by the experience of other countries and avoid their mistakes. This can probably best be done by adopting as early as possible a policy of co-ordinating the two systems of transport so that they become complementary and not competitive. With this end in view Government

last year appointed a small touring committee who were instructed to visit all Provinces, to consult Local Governments, Railway Administrations and public bodies on this important question. The Committee were asked to prepare a Report which has just been published and which will form the basis of discussion at a conference which Government intend to hold in April. Government propose to invite to this Conference not only the representatives of Local Governments and Railways, but also of unofficial bodies interested in the motor industry and road development. It is hoped that as a result of the deliberations of this Conference a well balanced policy will be formulated for correlating and developing the two forms of transport so as to give India the best and most economical transport system.

Construction

We believe our programme allows for all really essential works. For example, the construction of the Chambal and Sindh Bridges on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, which with the completion of the relaying beyond Jhansi, which it is hoped to undertake within the next two years, will enable heavy engines, with consequent heavier loads, to run between Bombay and Delhi. This will increase the capacity of the line and ensure more economical working. Then the replacement of 3,000 uneconomical wagons with 2,500 wagons of higher tare capacity will cheapen the cost of transport and maintenance. We hope that these 2,500 wagons are only a first instalment, and that we shall be able in succeeding years to continue this renewal policy, and if traffic justifies it, speed it up. I would also draw attention to the reconstruction of the Nerbudda Bridge on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. This will remove the last weak link on that Railway's main line to the north. The only other important works to which reference need be made are the remodelling of the Salt Cotaurs Yard on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway near Madras, and the remodelling of Hubli Station on the same Railway, both works overdue. As regards new construction, about 2/3 crores is being spent during the current year and 32 lakhs had been allowed for the year 1933-34. These sums have been provided to complete works already started during the more prosperous years, and no new projects are being undertaken. We have, however, not lost sight of the fact that when prosperity returns there will be a demand for new Railways to develop the country. For example, we have just completed a fresh engineering survey of the Bombay-Sind connection, and we are now undertaking a fresh traffic survey so that we may be in a position to start work on this very important work when and if traffic justifies. In the result our programme necessitates the provision of 5½ crores from the Depreciation Fund, and 3 crores of capital during 1932-33. This is to a certain extent offset by allowing for a reduction of 1½ crores in stores balances, giving a total expenditure from capital and depreciation of 7 crores during the year. During 1933-34 our expenditure on open line works under capital and depreciation is expected to amount to 10¼ crores, of which 6 crores will be derived from the Depreciation Fund. Of this amount 1¾ crores is required for work in progress, about 4¼ crores for track renewals. and 2½ crores for rolling stock. We anticipate a further reduction of about 1¼ crores in stores balances, so the net expenditure under capital and depreciation will amount to about 9 crores.

DISCUSSION

The general discussion on the Railway Budget on February 18th lasted for about three hours, and was marked by a number of "recommendations or suggestions" which the Hon. Members made to the Railway Member. Freight and surcharge on coal, reduction of railway fares, amenities for

third classes passengers, plea for a reduction of salaries, a suggestion to abolish the Railway Clearing Accounts Office and the Indianisation of the higher posts formed that themes of discussion.

"Axe" for Subordinates

Mr. J. C. Banerji, said that he did not share the optimism of the Railway Member, and felt that more economies could be effected in the railway administration. The "Axe," however, mainly applied to the subordinate staff, leaving untouched the high salaries of the officers. The speaker suggested a committee to enquire into the whole railway administration with a view to finding avenues of economy. He also suggested the abolition of the Railway Clearing Office and the affording of greater comforts for third and intermediate classes. In conclusion, he advised that the Conference for the co-ordination of railway and road services should deal with the subject fairly and not make proposals which would be detrimental to road interests.

Rates Responsible for Revenue Shrinkage

Rai Bahadur Ramsarandas, Leader of the Opposition, ascribed the present depression to enhancement of railway rates and fares which diverted traffic both of goods and passengers to motor lorries. He strongly criticised the restoration of half of the cut in salaries, especially when railway earnings had touched rock-bottom, and suggested that the loss on strategic railways should be borne by the Army estimates. The Rai Bahadur held that week-end concession tickets had proved useful in encouraging traffic and should be reintroduced. The speaker criticised the policy of the Government in giving training to twelve Indians in the mechanical side and recruiting only six. This was really a waste of public money. Lala Ramsarandas welcomed the appointment of Mr. Pope, but felt that if some United States railway expert was associated with him, the enquiry would yield better results. In conclusion, he pleaded that the representation of the legislature, trade and commerce should be secured on the proposed Road Railway Conference.

On the Rocks

Mr. Kalikar regretted that constant drawing from the reserve and depreciation funds had now reduced their resources to rock-bottom. If the Government wished to operate the Railways on business lines, they should carry out more retrenchment and economies in the cost of administration. The speaker pleaded for the reduction of rates and fares, with a view to fighting the road competition.

Retrenchment Shelved

Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetty said that the first impression the Budget made on his mind was that it was a fuller appreciation of the nature of the present economic depression, which was the main cause of the present sad state of the Indian railways. South India particularly was anxious over the contraction of the rice and paddy markets in Ceylon on account of the competition of local produce. He suggested lower rates for rice. Referring to retrenchment the speaker said that due to the appointment of Mr. Pope, most of the railways had shelved the Retrenchment Committee's recommendations. In conclusion, he urged that the Local and Central Advisory Committees should be charged with the administration of funds set apart for the improvement of passenger comforts, which would lead to all-round benefits.

Mr. Mohd. Din congratulated the Railway Member on handling so skilfully the present situation and hoped that the next budget would be more encouraging. The speaker however pleaded for a reduction in freight rates, especially for agricultural produce.

Mr. Mahomed Suhrawardy regretted the Government decision partially to restore the cuts and held that the Budget would be better if top-heavy administration was reduced. The speaker pleaded for Indianisation of Railways and larger representation of Mussalmans in the Railway services.

Sympathetic "Cut" Restoration

Mr. Miller felt that it would be wrong and unfair to exclude the railway staff from reduction in the salary cuts after the Government had decided to give effect to that policy in other branches of the services. However, he suggested that the increments should be held in abeyance until the conditions justified a change. Mr. Miller was gratified that no scheme had been put forward for the construction of new lines, but agreed that the Government were fully justified in carrying out work on lines already begun. He expected that the Road Railway Conference would result in a well-balanced policy for correlating and developing the two forms of transport, so as to give India the most economical and efficient system of transport.

No Real Economy

Mr. Hussain Imam observed that while the Chief Commissioner had claimed an economy of Rs. 4.24 crores during the four years, the Railway administration report was more honest, and showed that a good deal of this saving was more by expenditure postponed. Then again while company-managed railways like the M. and S. M. showed a decrease in expenses of three lakhs compared to 1923, State-managed railways showed a great increase during the same period. Then again, during the last eight years, the number of European and Anglo-Indian officers had decreased only by four from 18,064 to 18,060. At this rate, he said, Indianisation of railways would take 36,000 years. Then again, retrenchment among Muslim employees had been double that among others. The Lee concessions, which were given as a favour should be withdrawn, and the Railway Clearing Accounts Office, which was kept only for book adjustments, should be abolished, thereby saving the Government Rs. 16 lakhs annually.

SIR JOSEPH BHORE'S REPLY

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, expressed regret that he could not derive the benefit of the observations on the subject by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, but was glad that his experience was obtainable in a wider sphere. He said that while he (the Railway Member) had proceeded with caution, the House should not take a pessimistic view like Mr. Suhrawardy . The position of the Indian Railways was eminently sound, and comparatively better than any other railway system in the world. He assured Lala Ramsarandas that replacement of wagons was necessary, because those to be replaced were definitely uneconomic. He informed Mr. Miller that only such remodelling of stations was being undertaken, as would definitely lead to economy. As regards the question of reduction of rates, it looked prima facie attractive, but none had shown him that decrease would be compensated by increased traffic. He regretted that he could not accept Lala Ramsarandas's suggestion to give preferential rates to certain commodities.

Sir Joseph Bhore assured the House that after the Pope Enquiry was over an expert committee would be appointed. He finally gave a personal assurance that he would look into all criticisms. The Railway Board and the speaker welcomed the criticisms. The Railway Member concluded that in spite of mistakes and errors that might have been committed, the railways were in an undeniably sound position.

FINANCE BILL

The Council of State met on March 31st to consider the Finance Bill.

Mr. Taylor, Finance Secretary, moving consideration of the Bill said the importance of a balanced budget and sound finances has been recognised by the investors throughout the country with the result that after the introduction of the Finance Bill last month Government securities stood at favourable rates. They had nearly a surplus of forty-tow lakhs which was small enough at a time when the prices of commodities and Government revenues had to weather vicissitude of economic depression.

Mr. Hossain Imam proceed to refer to the proposed creation of the Reserve Bank when Mr. Taylor asked if it was in order. The President said reference to reserve bank was quite appropriate. Mr. Hossain Imam urged the amount of gold reserve should be increased with a view to ensure earliest setting up of the bank and therefore suggested imposition of export duty on gold as it was urged unanimously by Europeans and Indians.

Rai Bahadur Mahrotra criticised the Government for the White Paper proposals which did not contain even a shadow of responsibility not to speak of substance. As for the credit of India Mr. Mahrotra alluded to the suggester a conversion loan at 4 per cent and Government securities were going up and said the credit of the country was certainly high. He complained the Government having without consulting the legislature reduced ten per cent cut in the salaries of the Government officials to five per cent while retaining despite the unanimous demand of commercial community the twenty-five per cent surcharge on income tax. Referring to army expenditure he calculated it at thirty-three per cent total of India's revenues (including provinces) and said this was unjust.

Mr. V. V. Kalikar referred to the heavy burden of taxation and said when purchasing power of the people was going down daily, Government was not justified in retaining such a high level of taxation.

Lala Ramsarandas, leader of the Progressive Party wanted to know when an antidumping measure against Japan will be introduced. He remarked the emergency of the Finance Bill proposals had a tendency to remain permanent so that Government must declare their policy now whether they meant to make them permanent. Lala Ramsarandas referred also to sugarcandy industry and wanted protection for this industry.

Sir Edward Benthall supported the proposals in the Finance Bill as passed by the Assembly including lowering rate of incomtax on those receiving salary between one thousand and one thousand five hundred per annum. But he thought banks would not mind the imposition of stamp duty on cheques. Mr. G. A. Natesan interjected a question.

Mr. Mahrotra asked Sir Edward Benthall to move an amendment and face the result. Sir Edward agreed that it would be far more in the interest of business in India that the budget of the country should be balanced and money should be cheap.

Concluding Sir Edward calculated the military expenditure in India at twentythree per cent of the total revenues and not thirtythree per cent as stated by Mr. Mahrotra. Figures were that total revenue of India including that of provinces were two hundred crores. The military expenditure was fortysix crores. Hence it was twentythree per cent.

Mian Sir Fazli Hussain was surprised that members were suggesting retrenchments in his department of education, health and lands at a time when economy had been practised to the utmost extent. He had thought that the Finance Member was only a vulture and a wolf but now found that the opposition benches also contained wolves. Let it not be

forgotten that he was in charge of activities like education and agriculture which were considered essential.

Mr. Taylor replying strongly refuted Mr. Hussain Imam's charge that Government might raid the sinking fund. The Finance Secretary said the Government of India were not bankrupt and they were not prepared to raid the sinking fund. If they got any alleviation from war debts they could only be too glad to have it but they could not anticipate it at this stage. For their part they could never contemplate a greater calamity that would inveitably befall this country it the budget was not balanced. In the interest of small agriculturists and businessmen Mr. Taylor commended the Finance Bill for the consideration. The House agreed.

Several amendments were replica of those tabled in the lower house which subsequently were ruled by the President of the Assembly. Sir Dadabhoy agreeing to those rulings ruled out those amendments here also.

Mr. Mathraprasad Mahrotra moved an amendment reducing the salt duty from twenty to ten annas. Tracing the history of salt duty he said in 1922-23 the Assembly abolished the duty altogether only to be restored by the Governor-General at the rate of Re. 1-4. The agitation is still kept up and it came to a head in 1930 when Mr. Gandhi staged the famous Dandi march and over sixty thousand people went to jail. This was an unpopular measure he said and quoted the opinion of the Secretary of State in favour of his motion.

Mr. Taylor asked the House to consider cold facts as stood to-day when the budget was balanced just to the level. He asked how could they make up the loss of four crores which entailed the proposed amendment.

Mr. Jagdish Prasad moving an amendment on income tax suggested the taxable limit should be fifteen hundred instead of a thousand.

Mr. Taylor opposed as it involved a loss of another seventeen lakhs. The motion was lost.

Mr. Mahrotra moved the last amendment which attempted to do away with assessment on retrospective effect.

Mr. Taylor assured it was merely a procedure and no fresh liability on the tax-payer.

Lala Ramsarandas thought the clause placed discretion in the hands of the income tax officials which was unfair and unjust to the tax-payer who had no right of appeal.

The amendment was lost by seven against twenty-nine votes.

After a few remarks by Mr. Hossain Imam at the third reading the Finance Bill was passed.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Miller said on March 4th that it was reassuring that the Government could show a vast improvement in credit and a reduction in the floating debt, with a favourable balance of trade. This, however, had been achieved at great personal sacrifice to businessmen. The speaker could not agree with the Finance Member that the Government officials were still subjected to a special burden, for he was sure that the minimum sacrifice that those outside the Government services had to make was considerably more than five per cent, and most of this class had no pension on which to rely on retirement. Mr. Miller sympathised with Government servants, but would like some sympathy for those who were certainly in a similar, if not

a worse predicament. For he felt that if a tax on the export of gold had been levied during the past year, it would have gone a long way towards making possible the total restoration of the cut, and the giving of relief in respect of the income-tax surcharge being granted.

Motor Cars not a Luxury

Mr. Miller protested against the motor car being classed as a luxury, and pleaded for a reduction of the tax. The speaker was in favour of launching out on new carefully chosen schemes of development, as soon as possible, for the time seemed to be favourable in every way. The first step must be to economise to such an extent as was conducive to efficiency and to bring down the overhead charges to an absolute minimum. The Government should then spend wisely on development, for which it was necessary to reduce taxation to a level which would enable business organisations to feel justified in launching out on progressive schemes. The Government too must have a policy of development. Never was the time more opportune than now for development. Money, labour and materials were cheap.

Lower Income Tax Level

Mr. Bijaykumar Basu deplored that the lowering of the income-tax level to Rs. 1,000 was playing havoc in millions of homes. The Government ought to have considered this factor, before they restored half of the cut in salaries. He was not satisfied with the mere extension of the anti-dumping duty and hoped that stronger measures would be adopted in order to protect the principal industry of the country, namely, the cotton textile industry.

Reduction of Postal Rates

Mr. Jagdish Prasad, criticising the restoration of half of the "cut" in salaries said that it lookad as if the public existed for Services and not the Services for the public. He strongly pleaded for a reduction of the postal rates to the original level and for restoration of the cuts in University grants. He regretted that the costly Lee concessions were not withdrawn despite the continuance of the financial stringency.

Unrelieved Gloom

Launching a bitter attack on the budget Lala Ramsaran Das found the gloom unrelieved. He criticised the gold policy of Government which had impoverished the country's reserves. He disapproved restoration of salary cut at a time of unexampled difficuty. He regretted that no relief was given to the tax-payers and no solution of unemployment was attempted, no withdrawal of surcharge made and no reduction in army expenditure affected.

A Rosy Picture

Mr. G. A. Natesan remarked that the rosy picture of India's high credit and strong position was inconsistent with the continuance of high taxation and large exports of distress gold. The economic condition of the peasants was going from bad to worse. For the first time in the history of peasants they had an unfavourable balance of trade which was met by the exodus of gold. He expressed indignation at the restoration of the salary cut and said the difficulties of businessmen have been multiplied by a broad taxation.

Profits From Gold

Mr. Mehta maintained sales of gold brought to India 56 crores of profit by the reason of having been bought at Rs. 20 per tola and sold at Rs. 30 per

tola which helped Sir George Schuster to balance his budget. He drew attention to the critical condition of cotton textile industry due to dumping from Japan and impressed on the Government the need of protection for this important industry. In conclusion he hoped Sir George Schuster's term of office should be extended.

Emergency Bills

Diwan Bahadur Narayanswami Chetty and Sir Akbarkhan while congratulating the Finance Member on his able exposition of the financial condition in India, regretted that the five per cent salary cut had been restored without simultaneous relief being given to the over-burdened tax-payer. The emergency Bill continues though no emergency exists. They held military expenditure should be cut down and the top-heavy administrative machinery reduced according to country's need.

Burden of Taxation

Mr. J. C. Banerjee, while complimenting the Finance Member for his splendid performance in showing a surplus of forty-two lakhs, asserted that the imposition of additional taxes in the shape of further duties on imported boots and shoes and artificial silk for protective purposes and also the revival of the stamp duty on cheques did not redound to his credit in husbanding the resources for purposes of incurring public expenditure. He maintained that the continuance of the eighteen pence ratio even when the rupee was linked to the sterling was an ugly feature of England's work in India which was detrimental to India's economic resources. The man-in-the street did not understand the intricacies of the budget nor did he care to know all of them. What he really wanted was lightening of the burden of taxation.

Mr. Chaudhury Mohamed Madin, speaking for the agriculturists, asked the Government to try to raise the price-level of India's raw products in the international markets, and thus improve the purchasing power of the people. If the Government did not actively move in this direction, quickly, even those who now stood with the Government, would be militated against the reforms. He hoped that adequate provision would be made for a prominent place for cultivators in the new Constitution.

Sir Edward Benthall regarded the Budget as most unsatisfactory, from the point of view of the tax-payer and the businessman. According to the Finance Member, there were 150 crores worth of imports last year of which 110 crores were paid by exports, and 40 crores by the sale of gold. In respect of these imports the taxpayer paid no less than 42 crores by way of customs, and 10 crores by way of export duties and excise. Such heavy taxation was unendurable for long. In regard to income-tax, Sir Edward Benthall said that the Finance Member was anticipating Rs. 50 lakhs more in the year. But coming from Bengal, where the jute, tea and coal industries were in the depths of depression, with little sign of relief, it was difficult to see where the income was coming from. The speaker asserted that although the trade of India had halved, the burden of taxation had increased by 15 per cent. The incidence of taxation in 1922 was 10 per cent, now it was 30 per cent. The action of the Government in putting a surcharge on coal freights was driving the industries of the country to destruction, and it was merely a question of time, if this sort of thing continued, before sources of taxation would dry up. Sir Edward Benthall regretted that on the one side, the Government had refused to lighten the burden of taxation, and on the other refused to embark on any capital expenditure which might be calculated to improve the situation. At the same time, the Finance Member

in his speech had hoped that the rates of interest would provide a revival of capital expenditure, adding that that was the only sound way by which an exit could be found from the present depression and that industrial revival would soon make it possible to reduce taxation. The speaker regretted that the Finance Member had not practised what he preached. When money rates were high and the prices were dear, the Government were quick to embark on costly schemes, which in times of low prices were apt to become a burden to them. He pleaded for a revision of the policy and suggested that the Government should embark on a bold programme of far-sighted capital development. This was the only course to put money into circulation.

Concluding, Sir Edward Benthall referred to Mr. G. A. Natesan's remarks on the Army budget, and said that in comparing figures with other countries, they should take into consideration not only the Central Government's budget, but also the Provincial Budgets. Then it would be found that the figure for military expenditure was a great deal lower. Again, in comparing the present Army Budget with the prewar figures, they must take into consideration a number of additional items of expenditure like war pensions, war debts, mechanisation proposals, etc. It was something that a reduction of Rs. 20 lakhs had been made this year. As for further economies, he was prepared to leave them to the Army itself.

FINANCE MEMBER'S REPLY

Sir George Schuster felt satisfied that despite criticism over details, there was general acceptance of the basis of the proposals. The country had played up in a remarkable way, and the legislature had supported the Government in weathering the storm. They had at least restored financial equilibrium in the face of the crisis. While he fully recognised that, in relation to the economic level, the burden of taxation was terribly heavy, he hoped that they had turned the corner. Alluding to Sir Edward Benthall's suggestion for a bold programme of capital expenditure, Sir George Schuster explained the practical difficulties in the way and said that there were no cut and dry schemes which would prove to be remunerative in the long run. Perhaps, a scheme of further electrification of railways in Bombay for which a traffic survey was being carried out, offered the only one suitable at the moment. As for the development of roads, a Conference was being arranged in the summer in Simla.

Mr Taylor, Finance Secretary, winding up the debate, reiterated his warning to the sugar industry. He maintained that Bombay and Bengal which were deficit provinces were responsible for the revival of the stamp duty on cheques. The Army Budget was the minimum that was possible under the circumstances, and with a war already brewing on the Eastern horizon, it was not proper to expect the Government to effect a further retrenchment.

MARINE RESERVE FOR INDIA

On February 20th H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, moving for considera tion of the Bill to amend the Indian Marine Act, said that the Bill was a step towards India's assuming responsibility for her defence, which was essential for her achieving self-government. To-day India was paying a fixed contribution to the British Fxchequer for the policing and defence of India's coast-line ports. The British tax-payer however would not be willing to be burdened with this expenditure. The Indian Marine, on the other hand, had made remarkable progress during recent years, and the Bill was intended to create a small reserve to be of practical use and value during times of emergency, and also in giving a chance, in the name of duty, to private individuals both Indians and Europeans. To begin with, the reserve

would be a very small one, of costing more than Rs. 40,000 a year. The creation of the force however needed discipline, in any rules, for provision was made by the Bill in conclusion, the Commander-in-Chief referred to the Indian Navy Bill which was rejected by the Legislative Assembly and said that if a desire was expressed for a revision of the measure, the Government would be willing to respond to the request.

Mr. J. C. Bannerji and Mr. Lala Jagdish Prasad supported the Bill the latter enquiring whether there would be any proportion between the recruitment of Indians and Europeans in the new reserve.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief gave a personal assurance that the reserve would be predominantly Indian.

The Bill was passed.

NEGOTIABLE INSTRUMENTS ACT AMENDMENT BILL

Mr. J. B. Taylor, moving for consideration of the Negotiable Instruments Amendment Bill, gave a history of the measure and said that it was designed to protect banks and private individuals. A similar Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in 1927, but was rejected in 1929, one reason being that the subject would be enquired into by the Central Banking Committee then set up. The Government had consulted Imperial Bank also. The present Bill provided that cheques originally drawn to "bearer" shall not lose their "bearer" character notwithstanding any endorsement thereon, whether in full or in blank, and whether such endorsement purported to restrict and exclude further negotiation or not. The speaker claimed that the Bill would foster the "cheque" habit amongst Indians by making the purport of the cheque clear to laymen.

The Bill was passed.

STORES PURCHASE POLICY

Two non-official resolutions figured on the agenda paper when the Council of State assembled on February 21st.

Mr. Jagdish Prasad moved that:—

(1) In accordance with the recommendations of the Stores, Stationery and Printing Retrenchment Committee, definite orders be issued to all departments that all stores other than those of a specially technical nature be in future purchased through the Indian Store Department.

(2) An Advisory Committee presided over by the Member for Industries be appointed to review from time to time how far the policy of the Government regarding the purchase of stores was being given effect to.

Mr. Jagdish Prasad said that when the Stores Department was first inaugurated, the Commerce Member made a definite statement that all Government purchases would be made through this department, but in spite of this undertaking only an infinitesimal portion of railway stores was being purchased through the department and of the Army department still less. If the Government of India had the interest of indigenous industries at heart, they should accept the recommendations of the Stores, Stationery and Printing Retrenchment Committee.

Purchase of Indigenous Goods

Mr. Kalikar, supporting the resolution, said that the Government after having accepted a certain policy in inaugurating the Stores Department, should carry it to its logical conclusion. He saw no reason why the Government departments should make purchases independently of the Stores De-

partment, and urged that the purchases should be from articles of Indian origin thereby giving an impetus to industries.

Stores Department Neglected by Army

Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, who presided over the Stores, Printing and Stationery Retrenchment Committee, asserted that the Railways and the Army had not taken full advantage of the Stores Department. The volume of business done by that department was not commensurate to the expense incurred on its working, and he urged that the Army should patronise the department more fully and that the recommendations of his Committee should be accepted without delay.

Store of Indian Goods

Mr. Ramsarandas Das, and Sardar Buta Singh further lent their support to the resolution, while Mr. Basu wanted to know what proportion of Government purchases was made of goods of Indian origin and what proportion of foreign goods, irrespective of the fact whether they were purchased through the Stores Department or not.

OFFICIAL REPLY

Mr. J. A. Shillidy refuted the statement that the Army and the Railways were not making purchases through the Stores Department. He asserted that the purchases by these departments were increasing every year, and 63 per cent of the Medical Stores and 72 per cent of other stores of the Army were purchased or manufactured in India. Mr. Shillidy said that the Government still had under consideration the whole question and would reach decisions shortly. Till those decisions were reached, however, the Government were not in a position to accept the resolution. He assured the Council that in reaching decision the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee would be given full weight.

The resolution was withdrawn.

SALARIES CUT

Mr. Hussain Imam next moved that the cut in salaries be only restored when 25 per cent of the surcharge imposed by the second Finance Bill was also abolished. The mover said that the Government's last Budget was based on three things, retrenchment, additional taxation and salary cuts. It was wrong for the Government to make an announcement of a partial restoration in "cut" without a simultaneous announcement in respect of the other two items. Even a surplus budget did not justify the step, as restoration of the "cut" would affect the Provincial Governments and local bodies to the extent of four crores. The speaker admitted that the Government could not undo what they had announced, but should now announce by accepting the resolution that the further five per cent "cut" would only be restored simultaneously with the abolition of the surcharges.

Lala Ramsarandas felt that the Government's hurried announcement betrayed a suspicion that the finances were not as good as to warrant a restoration of the "cut". He held that the Government should have taken the public into their confidence, and should have proved their case for partial restoration of the "cut" before making the announcement.

OFFICIAL REPLY

Mr. J. B. Taylor, Finance Secretary, on behalf of the Government stated that he could not discuss the merits of the case as it would be announc-

ing prematurely Budget secrets, which no civilised Government could do. The reason for the announcement of the restoration of the "cut" was that the commercial services of the Government were also affected and pleaded for an announcement of their decision for the preparation of their estimates. Similar reasons applied to other departments of the Government.

Mr. Hussain Imam said that there was no risk of making Government disclose Budget secrets, for the operative part of the resolution asked for an undertaking on behalf of the Government, that they would not restore the remainder of the "cut" till all the surcharges were abolished.

Economy in Telegraph Posts

Mr. Ramsarandas moved a resolution on March 8th recommending that additions to or replacements of telegraph poles carrying wires be of timber, purchased in India or Burma, where this would be in every way economical. He said that metal posts cost about Rs. 20 each, whereas timber posts cost only Rs. 2 each. The only objection against timber poles was quick wearing away of the portion of the post which remained underground. By application of chemicals this difficulty could easily be overcome. He suggested that metal sockets could be provided for that portion of wood under ground. Even accepting normal life of metal posts to be fortyfive years as against fifteen years of wooden posts, the latter was much cheaper and should be used wherever possible. This replacement by wooden posts would give employment to thousands of people in India.

Mr. Shillidy, Industries Secretary, accepted the resolution but he did not agree with the arguments of the mover. He quoted figures to show that timber posts were much costlier than tubular posts as found in the case of the Kashmere line. If support to the Indian industry was the ground for the resolution he failed to see how Tatas, from whom metal posts were purchased was not a native industry.

Indianisation of the Army

On February 20th replying to Lala Jagdish Prasad's question relating to Indianisation of the Army, the Commander-in-chief reiterated the reason cited by his predecessor Sir William Birdwood why Government were unable to accept the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee for the abandonment of the "Right Units" scheme. The Commander-in-chief said that the Sandhurst Committee also recommended a scheme for progressive increase in the number of King's Commission to be granted to Indians the effect of which would be that half the cadre of officers in the Indian Army would be composed of Indians by 1952, i.e. in 25 years. The present policy of the Government, declared the Commander-in-chief was to Indianise completely one division of the Cavalry Brigade with their full proportion of the technical arms and auxiliary services. Further progress towards complete Indianisation would depend on the degree of success obtained in carrying out the policy. He added that Government's intention was to proceed with Indianisation as rapidly as possible with due regard to efficiency.

Communal Percentage

Replying to a question put on March 6th by Mr. Kalikar the Commander-in-Chief stated that the percentage of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh cadets now at the Indian Military Academy was 20, 40, 27, respectively. He also added that the majority of cadets who were successful in the first competitive examination happened to hail from the Punjab and repudiated the suggestion that the results of the examination were manipulated in any way to favour the Punjabis as the

examination was conducted by the Public Service Commission. The Commander-in-Chief said that six candidates from provinces other than the Punjab who were successful in the first examination were now at the academy. A number of senior Viceroy's commissioned officers were granted King's commission after the Great War for specially distinguished service but the Government were not prepared to regard this as a precedent for those Indians who now obtained commission through the Indian Military Academy. For, if this suggestion was accepted it would upset the whole scheme of officering the new Indian Army.

Indian Officers Holding Viceroy's Commission

Sir Philip Chetwode informed Mr. Ghose Maulik on the same date that the number of Indian officers holding the Viceroy's commission at present were 155. There were no Indians at present employed permanently as a staff officer. Such appointments were generally given to officers who had been through the staff college and so far only one Indian officer had passed into the college. The sanctioned strength of Indian officers other than the ranks of the Indian Army excluding the Reservists and Territorial force was 151455. 47368 Hindus, 22828 Sikhs, 18703 Gurkhas, 52863 Mohamendans including 41720 from the Punjab and 6847 from the N. W. F. were serving in the Indian Army on January 1, 1932.

Indian Cadets

Sardar Jagannath Maharaj Pandit moved on March 6 the resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to take steps to secure an increase of the present number of cadets who are annually admitted into the New Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun by at least 50 per cent. and distribute the same equitably among the different University training corps units throughout India and the Prince of Wales Royal Military College at Dehra Dun.

Mr. S. C. Ghose Maulik asserted that unless the number of cadets was increased, it would be impossible to Indianise the Army within a short period. He pointed out that Indianisation of the Army would mean a substantial reduction to the military expenditure.

Indianisation

Sir Akbar Khan said it was the declared policy of the Government to Indianise the Army but said the rate of Indianisation should be left to Army experts.

Mr. Muthra Prasad Mahrotra said the only way to cut the Army budget was Indianisation.

Mr. Hussain Imam asked assurance from the Commander-in-Chief to push Indianisation at the quickest rate possible.

Sir Philip Chetwode replying on behalf of the Government said the present policy of admitting sixty candidates yearly was fixed after due consideration by the Indian and His Majesty's Governments. It was not possible to change that deliberate policy at a moment's notice because, for one thing there is not enough supply of educated youngmen with long traditions of fighting leadership. Indian officers, senior most of whom have not put more than seven or eight years, were doing very well but whether they were going to turn out good leaders could not be decided till they came to be placed in charge of squardrons or batteries. That time would come eight years hence and once they were assured that the material they were experimenting with were of the right sort, they could push on with the

scheme of Indianisation. For the moment, they who were responsible for the safety of India were taking a risk. He did not say that the material recruited would not turn out well. Indeed the officers who had been recruited were showing good promise but the time to judge the success of the experiment had not come yet.

As regards the selection of cadets, he assured the House that there was no favouritism towards any class. The selection was based on the result of a very rigid examination and any one who secured the top places in the competition is certain to be selected. He hoped the mover would withdraw the resolution.

The mover asked leave of the House to withdraw which was refused and the resolution was eventually rejected by 32 votes to 8.

IMPERIAL BANK ACT

On March 20th Mr. Buta Singh moved a resolution asking the Government to introduce legislation to amend the Imperial Bank Act, so as to empower the bank to lend on mortagages of agricultural estates.

Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetty, opposing the motion, thought that the best solution of the problem was to have recourse to land mortgage banks.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, supporting the motion, referred to the plight of Agriculture owing to the unprecedented depression.

Messrs. Jagdish Prasad, Syed Padsha, Kalikar and Khaparade all supported the motion, and pointed out that land mortgage banks were not existing in many Provinces. Further, their activities were very much restricted, as in the case of co operative banks.

Sir Edward Benthall opined that the resolution was unwise on the eve of the establishment of a Reserve Bank. He would suggest to the mover to bring forward a proposal to extend the operation of mortgage banks to all provinces.

Mr. Taylor, Finance Secretary, replying stated that the Government were alive to the fact that, if Agriculture did not prosper, the rest of India also could not prosper. But the proper time for the discussion of the subject was when the Reserve Bank Bill was taken up. Meanwhile, the first stage of examination of the question must be in the provinces, and the Government of India were now engaged in consultation with the Provincial Governments. It might be possible for the Imperial Bank or the Reserve Bank later to make advances to agriculturists but on more liquid securities than the frozen assets of mortgages of agricultural estates.

Lala Ramsarandas and Mr. Hussain Imam were dissatisfied with the speech of the Finance Secretary, and supported the resolution, which was negatived by 21 against 24 votes.

COTTON TEXTILE BILL

Mr. P. Stewart, officiating Commerce Secretary, in moving on that date the Cotton Textile Protection Bill be taken up for consideration explained that the Government had not sufficient time to fully consider the report of the Tariff Board so it became necessary to extend the operation of duties till October 31 of the present year.

Rai Bahadur J. C. Banerjee supporting the Bill inquired whether the present protection was adequate to save Indian industry against Japanese dump-

Mr. E. Miller pointed out the imminent danger to textile industry and urged for the need of an emergent measure to combat foreign competition.

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das endorsed what Mr. Miller said and showed how due to abnormal depreciation of yen, Japan was getting an advantage of 250 per cent.

Mr. Chokey also accorded support to the Bill which was passed.

WHEAT IMPORT DUTY BILL

Mr. Stewart next moved that the Wheat Import Duty Bill be taken up for consideration. He made it clear that in proposing that the duty should be continued, the Government claim to have considered the opposing interests of the producer and consumer. Unless this measure is passed, foreign wheat will flood the Indian market the result of which would be disastrous.

Sir Akbar Khan and Mr. Hussain Imam spoke in favour of the Bill.

Rai Bahadur Mathura Prasad Mahrotra detailed the pitiable condition of the agriculturists who were living from hand to mouth.

Sir Edward Benthall observed that the duty was directed mainly against Australia and feared Australia might retaliate by refusing to take Bengal jute.

Rai Bahadur J. C. Banerjee was for passing the Bill while Mr. S. C. Ghose Maulik espoused the cause of the Bengal consumers.

Mr. Stewart replying said the burden of Bengal consumers was not more now than in the past. He informed that the experiment in marketing wheat at a cheap rate by reducing the railway freight resulted in a loss of railway revenue by 15 lakhs.

The Bill was passed.

INTERPELLATIONS

100 Politicals In Andamans

On March 4th Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee asked: ((A) Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of political prisoners removed to the Andamans up to date province by province?

(B) How many of them have been transported for life?

(C) Is it a fact that the persons sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment have been transported to the Andamans?

(D) Do the Government keep any information about the condition of health of the political prisoners in the Andamans?

If so, will the Governments be pleased to make a statement on this?

(E) What arrangements have been made for the board of Bengali political prisoners there?

(F) Have the Government made any attempt to reproduce any Bengal conditions as regards diet, ways of living, etc. of the Bengali political prisoners in the Andamans?

Mr. M. G. Hallett replied to questions (A) and (B). The total number of prisoners connected with the terrorist crime transferred to the Andamans is 100. I am unable to give any detailed information in regard to these prisoners. (C) Yes. (D) no, but I may state for the information of the honourable member that there are well equipped hospitals in the Andamans and an adequate medical staff.

Replying to questions (E)) and (F) Mr. Hallett said: A certain number of Bengali cooks has been transferred to the Andamans to cook the food of the Bengali prisoners as far as the circumstances permit. The prisoners will receive diet and treatment admissible to the class in which they were placed in Bengal. I would observe that the persons sent to the Andamans are convicted prisoners who will run their sentence as though in other jails in India.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

Deficit of Rs 195 Lakhs

THE Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Woodhead, Finance Member of Bengal presented the Budget estimate for the year 1933-34 for Bengal in the Bengal Council on February 21st. In doing so he regretted to say: "The anticipated net result of the working of the coming year is another overdraft to the amount of Rs. 195 lakhs. The picture of the financial position of the province disclosed by the revised budget estimate is more distressing and holds out no hope of a revision of the existing financial settlement, which all over have always held to have been grossly unjust to Bengal, naturally and actually one of the richest provinces in India, the financial outlook,—and not only the financial but the political outlook as well—would be black indeed."

The Finance Member continuing said: "On the one hand, we are faced with a yield from our principal heads of revenue which shows a fall of over Rs. 192 lakhs or nearly 20 per cent as compared with the receipts of 1928-29, and is actually lower than that of year 1921-22. On the other, we have additional expenditure, which in 1933-34 is estimated at over half a crore of rupees, on measures required to deal with the Civil Disobedience and Terrorist movements. The prospects of an improvement in revenue depend almost entirely upon a substantial improvement in the prices obtainable for the staple crops of the province. Of the latter I see few, if any, real indications at present and therefore little hope of an early improvement in the yield of our existing sources of revenue. No Government can contemplate with equanimity deficits, particularly of the relative magnitude of the present deficits in Bengal; and if the province were faced with the continuance of existing conditions—and within this term I include the existing financial arrangements—retrenchment of the ruthless character on both the reserved and transferred sides of the budget would be unavoidable.

Financial Position

The following is the summary of the Financial position of the Government of Bengal in 1932-33 and 1933-34:—

[The figures are in thousands of rupees]

	Revised Estimate, 1932-33. Rs.	Budget Estimate 1933-34. Rs.
Opening balance	13,56	12,78
Revenue Receipts	9,24,43	9,27,73
Famine Relief Fund	57	57
Deposit Account — Imperial Council of Agricultural Research	62	49
Depreciation Fund for Government Presses	1,16	1,00
Advances from Provincial Loans Fund, Government of India	14,83 1,37,49	22,53 1,95,07

	Revised Estimate, 1932-33. Rs.	Budget Estimate 1933-34. Rs.
Appropriation for reduction or avoidance of debt	8,66	9,30
Subvention from Central Road Development Account	22,53	13,70
Suspense	5,30	5,30
Recoveries of loans and advances by the Government of Bengal	14,14	15,92
Receipts on Capital Accounts	2,05,30	2,63,88
Total	11,29,73	11,91,61
Grand Total	11,43,29	12,04,39
Expenditure from ordinary revenue	10,83,06	11,32,24
Capital Expenditure—		
Irrigation	15,10	13,44
Bally Bridge	1,32	1,80
Commuted value of pensions	......	6,50
Famine Relief Fund	57	56
Deposit Account—Imperial Council of Agricultural Research	68	49
Depreciation Fund for Govt. Presses	14	1,41
Repayment to the Govt. of India of advances from Provincial Loans Fund	8,66	9,30
Subvention from Central Road Development Account	10,39	8,64
Suspense	5,20	5,20
Loans and advances by the Government of Bengal	5,39	12,02
Expenditure on Capital Accounts	47,45	59,36
Total	11,30,51	11,91,60
Closing balance	12,78	12,79
Grand Total	11,43,29	12,04,39

DISCUSSION

Speaking on February 23rd on the Budget Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur refuted the charge that the Zemindars made profit out of Permanent Settlement. The Zemindars, he said, made no profit out of it nor did the cause of tenants suffer thereby.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin said that the Budget was of a dismal character. It was a keen disappointment to them that Government made no real efforts to reduce the deficit and give effect to the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. It appeared to him that Provincial Autonomy, if they were going to have it was inconsistent with the existing conditions of All-India Services over which this legislature had no control. He demanded that as far as possible the recruitment must be

entirely in Bengal and from Bengalees or from those who were domiciled in Bengal.

No Departmental Co-ordination

Mr. J. N. Basu deplored the lack of a general policy on the part of Government to co-ordinate different departments of administration. Each department, he remarked, had gone by itself, trying to do what it could for itself. The speaker hoped that under the new constitution such state of things would cease to happen and that advancement of the people and development of the general resources of the province would loom larger in the programme of Government than in the past. He drew attention of the Government to the extraordinary low prices of jute and paddy and urged them to take prompt measures to improve the situation.

Referring to large sums of money that Government spent for the suppression of subversive movements, Mr. Basu said that it was the duty of the Government to suppress these but that was not the only duty. Government must grapple with the disease of which the subversive movements were but symptoms. He regretted the absence of indications that Government were trying to enlist the active support of the general mass of people in the matter and asked Government to see their way to bring about the atmosphere of peace and good-will in the country before the new system of Government was introduced.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said that in order to make Self-Government worthwhile the primary needs of the province must be satisfied. He remarked that ever since the Meston Award, Bengal Government had been "robbed" by the India Government of its legitimate share in revenue.

Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta said that the economic policy of the Government had so far been a policy of drift. There was reckless borrowing by the Bengal Government and they would never be able to reach any satisfactory solution of the economic problem.

Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq emphasised that time would come when recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee will have to be tackled in one way or the other. He thought there was a general lack of policy in most of the departments of the Government, especially in dealing with credit and waterways department.

Mr. C. G. Cooper raised his voice of protest against the position of salt tax of Bengal. The present position was that Bengal consumers were paying Rs. 29 lakhs annually but Bengal revenue was benefitting only to the extent of Rs. 7 lakhs.

Mr. P. Banerjee said that if Civil Disobedience Movement was no longer a menace and terrorist menace had been brought under control, then why there was necessity of a provision of over half a crore in the Budget for the same purpose? Complaining that the police were not doing their duty properly he said that the Police Department got one-fourth of their total, revenue at the cost of the nation-building departments.

JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE

After the presentation of the Budget, the Legislative Council on February 21st carried *nem con* the special motion of Mr. S. M. Bose urging upon "the Government of Bengal the importance of calling the immediate attention of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India to the necessity for the appointment of representative persons of Bengal, preferably from this Council, among those Indians to be selected for consultation with the Joint Select Committee to be appointed by Parliament for the consideration of the constitution for India and the Provinces, the number of such representatives of Bengal not being in any case less than that of any other province."

Moving his motion, Mr. S. M. Bose said that Bengal was a most important province of India. She had her special problems, and it was therefore necessary that Bengal should be fully and properly represented before the Joint Select Committee. He regretted that in the past Bengal had been neglected and had been unfairly treated since the Meston Settlement.

Intervening in the debate, the Hon. Sir P. C. Mitter, Leader of the House, explained the Government position, and said that the Government would forward a copy of the debate to the Government of India for communication to the Secretary of State. When the time came, they would do all that they could to secure proper representation for the province before the Joint Select Committee.

Mr. Abul Kasem, opposing the resolution, thought that no useful purpose would be served by sending another batch of delegates to London, as the British people were already familiar with the diverse view-points of the Indian people. Referring to the neglect to which Bengal had been subjected, he said that if they had been neglected, it was because they were backward in every walk of life as compared with other provinces. The proper remedy was to produce men who could hold their own and command respect without asking for it.

Replying to Mr. Abul Kasem, Mr. J. L. Banerjee said that the member had forgotten that it was not merchant princes that made the country great, but the men who contributed to the thought of the world and the emotional treasure of the world. As far as that was concerned, Bengal had made a permanent contribution to the treasure-house of the world's thought, poetry and emotional wealth. After all, it was not politics that counted.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin (ex-divisional Commissioner) supporting the motion, said that if Bengal's activities had been on the wrong side, if there was anarchism, terrorism, dissatisfaction and discontent in Bengal, it was all the more important that her case should be properly represented so that the constitution they were going to get would be satisfactory and acceptable to the people of Bengal.

Mr. W. H. Thompson, on behalf of the European group, supported the motion, and said that Mr. Kasem's speech was unfortunate. In denying due representation to Bengal, he said the British Government had been following the example of "Mahatma Gandhiji," which had resulted so badly for Caste-Hindus of Bengal a short time ago. Let them clamour for due representation of this province on this occasion.

DEVOLUTION

The House then defeated without a division, a resolution recommending to the Government to convey to the Government of India that, in the opinion of the Council, rules should immediately be framed under the Government of India Act providing for all provincial subjects specified in part 2 of Schedule 1 of the Devolution Rules to be administered by the Governor acting with the Ministers.

Opposing the resolution, Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, Home Member, pointed out that having regard to the procedure which had already been taken and the promise made on behalf of His Majesty's Government for the introduction of autonomy in the provinces, the House would not be wise to accept the resolution as it was certainly an inopportune moment for the discussion of the same.

REDUCTION IN MINISTERS' SALARY

A number of proposals to reduce the salary of the three Ministers were defeated in the Bengal Council on 20th March. By 84 votes to 19 the House negatived the motion of Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee fixing the salary of

Ministers at Rs. 4,000 per month, while other motions fixing the salary at Rs. 2,500, Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 3,500 were all lost without a division. It was made clear in the course of the debate that these motions were pure economy cuts and were not intended as "censure motions."

Mr. P. Banerji suggested that the Ministers should draw Rs. 2,500 per month and said that in view of the deplorable economic situation in the country the Ministers should not enjoy fat salaries.

Mr. Kishori Mohon Chaudhuri wanted to give the Ministers Rs. 3,000 a month and appealed to the Ministers to come forward and make a voluntary sacrifice, which would raise them in the estimation of the public.

Mr. N. K. Basu moved two motions. By one motion he wanted to give the Ministers Rs. 3,500 a month or if the salary was not reduced, he wanted to have the number of Ministers reduced from three to two. By another motion he wanted to have only one Minister.

Moving his motion Mr. N. K. Basu said for the last few years they had been told by a certain section of the House that they must not touch the Ministers' salary because they were in a state of transition. But what did they find? That state of transition was never going to end. "It is rather difficult to keep one's patience with this sort of argument. If it is thought necessary that the money spent over the Ministers' salary should be reduced, if one strongly feels over the matter, one ought not to stop for a single moment in voting for this reduction—transition or no transition. It is your duty to vote for the reduction now and here." Proceeding Mr. Basu maintained that the question of prestige depending on high salaries had now been exploded as a myth. The prestige of a man did not depend upon the salary he drew but on his own intrinsic worth and on the quality of work that he did. Mr. Basu also failed to understand why they should not reduce the number to one. It would be quite all right; he concluded, if they had only one Minister.

Moving that the pay of the Ministers be fixed at Rs. 4,000 per month, Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee stressed the fact that there was no country in the world where the salary of Rs. 64,000 was payable to Ministers of Government, and he challenged the Hon Mr. Prentice to point out a single instance in the history of the world where the salary paid to responsible Ministers or Prime Ministers equalled Rs. 64,000. The salary paid to the Prime Minister of England was fifty times per capital income of the Ordinary Britisher, whereas the salary of the Ministers in this unfortunate land of theirs was 1230 times per capita income of the ordinary Indian. After referring to the salaries drawn by the Ministers and Prime Ministers in British Dominions, Mr. Mukherjee referred to the salary of the President of Germany who obtained only Rs. 55 000 and said that in one respect their Ministers had out-Hindenburghed President Hindenburgh. In Japan, he pointed out, the Prime Minister got Rs. 14,000, and in Italy only Rs. 16,000. Coming nearer home he referred to the example shown by Bombay Ministers who had voluntarily accepted the pay of Rs. 4,000, and failed to understand why their Ministers should not emulate that example.

Mr. J. L. Banerjee opposing all the motions, said that in view of the striking developments foreshadowed in the White Paper it was futile to indulge in discussions of this kind. The future ought to obsess them to the exclusion of all these trivial cuts here and there. While admitting that the Treasury Benches are overpaid, he said that the Ministers were in charge of Departments where there was real work to be done, policy to be enunciated and routine of work yet to be settled. And if four members were required on the Reserved Side, more than four were required on the Transferred Side. The Ministers were their own men, and in a sense, their servants

and by crippling them they would be crippling themselves. Further if they reduced the salary of the Ministers without reducing the salary of the Executive Councillors, it would be interpreted by the public as meaning a vote of censure on the collective body of ministers who, according to him, had done good work as a team and had done nothing to deserve censure at their hands.

Mr. A. Kasem supporting the motion of Mr. Mukherjee fixing salary at Rs. 4,000 asked the Ministers to realise that public service in itself was its own reward, and he failed to understand how a reduction in the salary would impair their prestige. On the contrary it would raise them in the estimation of the public.

The Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, Home Member, said that as regards the number it was fixed by His Excellency the Governor under the Government of India Act and he appointed three Ministers and there were three. Dealing with the question of salary, he referred the House to the decision of the Council in 1921 fixing the salary of the ministers at Rs. 64,000. It was a general truth that in this country status was very largely dependant on pay. He said that it would be departing from the decisions of the House if they were to give a lower pay now and suggested that the Council should maintain the present salary until the new constitution came into being.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY CRITICISED

The Bengal Legislative Council, rejected on March 21st the cut motion of Mr. J. L. Banerjee, expressing dissatisfaction with the policy of the Education Minister in the administration of his Department.

Asking the House to reduce the demand of Rs. 1,81,600 under the head 'Education' by Rs. 1000, Mr. Banerjee said that compared to his two colleagues, the Education Minister possessed a blank record. Referring to the appointments in the department, Mr. Banerjee said that there had been a distinct communal bias in the conduct of the Minister in that respect.

The Minister, replying to the debate, stated that the Government did not bring forward a Bill for University reform, firstly because the University had effected some reforms itself and secondly because the University requested the Government to allow it to have its say on the final recommendations of the Government.

As regards primary education, the Minister said that the main difficulty in giving effect to the Primary Education Act lay in the fact that enforcement of the Act presupposed the imposition of an education cess and at the present moment, none could conceive of an additional tax being levied on the zemindar or ryot. As regards the appointment of Muslims, the Minister maintained that actually more Muslims had not been appointed than the number Government approved, and the appointments made were justified on their merits. Denying the allegation, the Minister took his stand on the Government circular reserving a certain number of posts for Mahomedans on minimum qualifications. Explaining why Mahomedans preferred to have certain number of teachers of their own community, he said that it had been found—human nature being what it was—that non-Mahomedan students got more help out of college hours from Hindu Professors.

The House sanctioned the entire demands of Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, Home Member, for Rs. 99,40,000 for General Administration and Rs. 77,71,000 for the administration of Justice.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BENGAL

The treatment to political prisoners came in for criticism on 22nd March.

Mr. R. Maiti moved a token cut of Rs. 100 on the demand of Rs. 9,25,000 for expenditure under head 'Police,' and thereby raised a discussion about

"the grievances of the political prisoners regarding diet, accommodation, bad treatment and the general policy of the department." Mr. Maiti in moving the cut said jail life in India instead of reformative made life all the more miserable.

Mr. J. N. Basu said that in this country mosquito nets had become a necessity. Without them prisoners are put to serious discomfort. If the prisoners cannot have a natural sleep during the nights on account of mosquito bites it becomes a 'torture' to them, which should be prevented by Government.

Political Prisoner Undefined

The Hon'ble Sir P. C. Mitter, replying to the debate, said the Government "do not recognise political prisoners as such." They, however, recognise Division I, II, and III prisoners. He emphasised he difficulty of defining a "political prisoner," whether it was a terrorist or a picketer, and also explained how difficult it was to lay down specific rules regarding them. A few years back a Conference was held at Delhi with a view to playing down precise rules. Various sections of opinion had been consulted; but they emphasised the same difficulty. The Hon'ble Sir Provash pointed out that there must be some general standard of uniformity of treatment throughout India and the question of political prisoners rested ultimately with the Government of India. The health report of the prisoners was satisfactory, said Sir Provash.

Jails Grant Sanctioned

The entire demand of Rs. 48,50,000 for expenditure under head "Jails and Convict Settlements" was voted.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, then moved a total grant of Rs. 2,10,71,000 for expenditure under head "Police."

In moving the grant the Hon'ble Mr. Prentice, giving figures for the last six years, said that there had been an increase in the cadre of the Bengal Police; but the increase was only temporary, he said, in order to deal with emergencies which were wellknown. The Home Member hoped that the emergent state of things would pass away sooner or later and the expenditure on police could be reduced. "So long as these movements continue" said the Home Member, "the expenditure on police must remain high, if they perhaps have not got very higher." The presence of troops in Bengal, the Hon'ble Mr. Prentice said, were having a great effect on the peace of the province. The case might arise when they might have to apply for the increase in the strength of troops in Bengal. That was a fact, the Home Member emphasised, which had got to be remembered in the discussion of the police grant.

Recruitment of Sergeants

The question of recruiting sergeants from among Bengalees was raised by Rai Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai who moved a token cut on the demand of a grant of Rs. 5,08,000 for "Presidency Police."

Mr. J. N. Gupta asked for a strenuous and honest beginning in the way of recruiting educated young men as sergeants in the Calcutta Police.

Mr. N. K. Basu, Mr. J. N. Basu, Mr. Shanti Shekhareswar Roy, Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta criticised the bogey of efficiency and emphasised that Bengal could and must manage her own affairs.

The Hon'ble Mr. Prentice replying, said that during the year there are in the Calcutta Police force 47 up-country Hindus, 41 up-country Mahomedans, 60 Bengali Hindus, and 7 Bengali Mahomedans. It was not a case, said the Home Member, that the Bengalees were not enlisted as a policy.

Bengalees were recruited, the Home Member said, provided they passed the requisite tests.

The motion was lost without a division.

Alleged Police Corruption

The entire demand of Rs. 2,10,71,000 by the Hon'ble Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, Home Member, for expenditure under head "Police" was voted at the Bengal Legislative Council on March 23rd. The voting passed off rather lightly over a "talk" on "traffic" arrangements in the city, a few comments on "gambling" in carnivals and a "wish" that the Recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee about the Presidency Police had been carried out more fully.

There was no debate proper on the "Police Grant," the really opposition motions having been thrown far down the agenda by the ballot, all of which were automatically guillotined.

"Cut" Motion on Police Grant

Rai Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, by a token cut of Rs. 100 on the demand of Rs. 33,63,000 underhead "Presidency Police—Calcutta Police," drew attention to "bribery and corruption in traffic management." Mr. Banerjee in supporting the cut pointed out that he was to draw the attention of the House not to "corruption" but to "increased corruption in traffic police which the Government should mend.

Dr. Haridhan Dutt, disagreeing with Mr. Banerjee, said that there had been marked improvement in the work of the traffic police, although he would not for a moment suggest that the traffic police was beyond corruption. "Corruption is still there" added Dr. Dutt "but what department is free from corruption ?"

Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta said that the problem was a "vital" one and called for the serious attention of the Government.

Mr. R. N. Reid, Chief Secretary, said that it was a matter which the Government did not treat lightly. The Government regarded it with the utmost aversion and the officers had very definite instructions to deal with it. If any police officer was caught taking bribes, he would be at once dismissed without hesitation. Both the "cuts" were rejected.

Police Re-organisation

By a token "cut" of ten rupees, Mr. J. N. Gupta (retired) drew attention to the "failure of the Government to give effect to the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee for reorganisation of the Calcutta Police."

Replying, the Home Member said that the Government were dealing as quickly as possible with the recommendations of the committee and pointed out that it was impossible to accept some recommendations. For instance, Government were convinced, conditions being what they were, that they could not reduce the number of Deputy Commissioners of the Special Branch which dealt with terrorism.

Remedy Lay with Public

The Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid, replying on behalf of the Government, advised the mover of the cut to think out any suitable disguise, say, that of frontier tribesman and study the methods of traffic management, and the mover would see, the Hon'ble Mr. Reid was sure, that "corruption is not a thing that Government treats at all lightly." The Hon'ble Mr. Reid, however, admitted that there was corruption there "That corruption exists it would be foolish to deny"—said the Hon'ble Mr. Reid. But the remedy lay with the public themselves, he thought.

The motion was lost without a division.

Police Aid to Corporation

The Hon'ble Mr. Prentice, replying, assured the House that the Government had taken the matter up and hoped to be able to introduce a Bill, by the next session, in order to deal with gambling in carnivals.

The Home Member took the opportunity to deny the allegation that the Police did not support the Corporation in their efforts to put down gambling. The Government has written to the Corporation asking for specific instances in which police assistance for the purpose had been refused. But they had not received any reply yet from the Corporation. Until the Corporation stated particular instances it would be impossible for the Government, the Home Member added, to make any further enquiry.

The motion was withdrawn.

Calcutta Police

Mr. J. N. Gupta moved a token cut of Rs. 100 on the demand of Rs. 43,08,000 under "Presidency Police," and drew attention to the "failure of the Government to give effect to the recommendations of Retrenchment Committee for the reorganisations of the Calcutta Police for effecting an annual economy of 3 lakhs of rupees." The total reduction recommended by the Retrenchment Committee was Rs. 3,65,200 of which a reduction of Rs. 21,000 only was effected. The cut was wholly inadequate, said Mr. Gupta, and showed that the Government had not fully realised the responsibility for making an honest effort to do what they could to meet the crying need of the province.

Mr. N. K. Basu, supporting the cut, said that in spite of assurances in the Council and elsewhere that the Non-co-operation movement had subsided there had been increase in the budget estimates for the next year for expenditure under "Presidency Police," showing a cost of Rs. 4 for every member of the city's population.

Government Reply

The Hon'ble Mr. Prentice, replying, said that the Government had carried out the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee as far as possible and pointed out the difficulty of carrying them out more quickly than they have done, having to take note of the 'history' of the various appointments.

The Hon'ble Mr. Prentice pointed out that the Special Branch of the Detective Department could not do without 2 Deputy Commissioners whose work it was impossible to have done by one Deputy Commissioner. The main problem for the Special Branch was terrorism, not Non-co-operation.

The motion was lost.

Education Grant

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Nazimuddin, Minister for Education, moved a grant of Rs. 1,07,06,000 for expenditure under "education (transferred)." In moving the grant the Hon'ble, Mr. Nazimuddin regretted that owing to financial stringency the Government had been compelled to carry out the 10 per cent cut in grants to colleges. The Government had not, however, made any reduction in grants to Primary Schools, nor to 'Madrashas' or to 'Tols.' The Hon'ble Minister very much regretted the necessity under which the Government had not been able to provide in the current year's budget the sum of Rs. 1,29,000 which used to be paid through the University to colleges for the purpose as a sort of capital grant for apparatus, libraries, chemicals and other things and also for physical education.

Measures to Prevent Gambling

The question of "unrestricted gambling in carnivals" was raised on March 23rd through a token cut, replying to which Mr. Prentice pointed out that order were issued to the police to do all in their power to put a stop to it, and so far as he was aware, the orders were carried out. He added that the proposals to deal with gambling were under consideration. A draft bill had been prepared to amend the existing Act and the Bill was likely to be introduced in the next session.

The cut motion was withdrawn.

Traffic Arrangements

Mr. C. G. Cooper, by a token cut of Re. 1 on the demand of Rs. 43,08,000 for "Presidency Police," raised a discussion about "traffic arrangements" in Calcutta. He referred to "flagrant breaches" of traffic rules by buses and gharies and carts.

The Hon'ble Mr. Reid, replying, said that a general disregard of traffic rules made the task of the police a difficult one. The Hon'ble Member thought that there was considerable improvement in the present traffic arrangements.

Mr. Azizul Huq complained of the 'congestion' of the buses, Mr. Abdus Samad of the "cows and bulls" and Mr. Shanti Shekhareswar Roy of the beggars.

The motion was withdrawn.

The entire demand of Rs. 2,10,71,000 for expenditure under the head "Police" was voted.

On the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. J A. Woodhead a sum of Rs. 3,72,000 was granted for expenditure under "Posts and Pilotage"; Rs. 26,000 for "Scientific Departments" and Rs. 10,43,000 for Education (reserved).

University Education

A vigorous defence of University Education was made by Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee at the Bengal Legislative Council on 27th March when a cut motion by Mr. G. R. Dain on the Education grant urging the promotion of Primary Education at the expense of University Education, came up for discussion. The motion received a 'cold douche,' as Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta put it, from every section of the House and was eventually or 'naturally' withdrawn.

Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee made a vigorous defence of University education, in strongly opposing the motion of Mr. G. R. Dain which asked for more primary education in Bengal at the expense of University education. The proper attitude for Mr. Dain should have been, argued Mr. Mukherjee, a demand for more primary education in Bengal at the reduction say of the police or the jail grant. The educational system was an organic whole having for its components the primary, the secondary and the University education; and seriously to suggest that the expenditure on secondary education and University education should be reduced in order to further the other part, viz. primary education, is to ask for loss of national efficiency. One could not cut the one part without touching the vitality of the entire whole. Who is responsible for the fact, asked Mr. Mukherjee, "that primary education has not been introduced? Forget the Reforms. The Reforms were introduced only ten years ago. During the last 150 years who ruled? The representatives of the country of Mr. Dain. Why did you not introduce primary education. What explanation would Mr. Dain give to that? Let me put Mr. Dain's sincerity to the test once more" continued Mr. Mukherjee.

"Let me propose that the expenditure of 2 crores of rupees for police be reduced and a portion of it be transferred to primary education. Will he support it? Or will Mr. Dain come forward to support me when I bring forward a proposal that the colossal expenditure of Rs. 50 lacs on jails be reduced and a portion of it transferred to primary education? Would Mr. Dain come forward and support me when I bring forward a proposal that the cost of General Administration of one crore of rupees which allows payment of salaries on a colossal scale unparalleled in the history of a civilised country should be reduced. Would Mr. Dain come forward and support us in that direction?" Nor would Mr. Dain, said Mr. Mukherjee, come forward with the ten lacs of rupees reserved for European education and spend it on primary education. "The present system of education notwithstanding its manifest faults, has achieved some paramount results," said Mr. Mukherjee. "It has aroused national consciousness of this vast country. It has produced men who can stand up before Mr. Dain and others, who can insist upon the acceptance of their rights and privileges on a basis of equality. "The only remedy which is open before us is the pursuit of a policy" said Mr. Mukherjee "which would support all stages of education equally and beneficially. So far as primary education is concerned, it is going to form the foundation of the great national structure. Upon it must be framed a definite net work of schools and colleges, not predominantly literary in type, but varied and diverse in character, providing for the changing and practical needs and conditions of society. The crown structure of National Education must have provision for the advancement of study in different branches of learning which will remain under the control of brilliant University men, rich in imagination and experience, men whose sacred duty would be not only to impart instructions, but also to advance the bounds of knowledge so as to add to the name and fame of this great province. And this province will be the home not only of artisans and foremen of which Mr. Dain speaks, of tramway conductors and bus drivers, but also it will be the centre of intellectual activity and seekers of knowledge."

England And Bengal

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth opposed the motion of Mr. Dain and remarked that comparisons between England and Bengal did not hold good. In India, University education was the only way to higher and other professional education. Not so in England. That made a tremendous difference. Nor should University education be interpreted in terms of unemployment.

Far Ahead Of Bombay

Rev. B. A. Nag opposed the motion and said that from the point of view of pupils and area served by primary institutions Bengal was far ahead of Bombay. Bombay had 13 thousand primary schools for boys and girls; Bengal had 52 thousand primary schools for boys and girls. This was four times that of Bombay. Each institution in Bengal covered 2 squares miles, in Bombay 10 square miles each. The number of pupils served in Bombay was 1 crore and 13 lacs, in Bengal 2 crores and 35 lacs. The trouble was, said Rev. Nag, that Bombay spent 47 rupees per head to its teacher, while Bengal only 8 rupees. That is why it cost Bombay more than Bengal.

Government Attitude

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Nazimuddin, Minister, replying said that it would in the opinion of the Government be wrong to cripple University or Second-

ary Education without at the same time making primary education free and compulsory, and was afraid that the amount resulting from a cut on University Education suggested would be too small materially to improve the present position of primary education in Bengal. While regretting that it was impossible to finance primary education from provincial revenue the Hon'ble Minister assured the House that they would refrain from making any cuts on primary education for boys and girls.

The motion was withdrawn.

The entire demand for Rs. 1,07,06,000 for Education ((transferred) was voted.

Medical Grant

On the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. B. P. Singh Roy, a sum of Rs. 42,94,000 was granted for expenditure under head 'Medical.'

Dr. Haridhan Dutt by way of a token cut of Rs. 100 on the 'Hospitals and Dispensaries' grant of Rs. 41,000 emphasised the need for co-ordination of all the hospitals and dispepnsaries in Calcutta and drew the attention of the House to the insufficiency of accommodation in hospitals in Calcutta. In spite of increased voluntary efforts by the Corporation, there was serious lack of hospital accommodation. Dr. Dutt referred to instances in which the ambulance had to bring back from hospitals those they had picked up and place wherefrom they were taken up.

Mr. J. N. Basu asked for a Central Board of Medical control for a co-ordination of Medical policy throughout Bengal.

State Lottery For Hospitals

Mr. W. L. Armstrong by another token cut put forward the idea of a State lottery in aid of hospitals. One knew that gambling was an evil, said Mr. Armstrong, "we are living in a state of evil all round." St. John Church was built by lottery, so also the Calcutta Town Hall, Mr. Armstrong pointed out.

Replying the Hon'ble Mr. B. P. Singh Roy said co-ordination presupposed co-operation which he was afraid was lacking among the individual efforts at solving the hospital problem of the city and province. At the present state of finances no further development in the line was possible. As regards the idea of State lottery in aid of Hospitals the Hon'ble Minister reiterated the Government decision not to allow it.

Mr. Armstrong's motion was lost, while Dr. Dutt withdrew his.

The entire demand of Rs. 42,94,000 under 'Medical' was voted.

SUPPRESSION OF IMMORAL TRAFFIC BILL

The Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill, 1932 was passed without a division on 1st April; all the amendments being either lost or withdrawn. The Bill, as finally accepted on the report of the Select Committee, has excluded male prostitutes and boys from the operation of the Bill.

Mr. N. K. Basu, a member of the Select Committee, opposing the final passage of Bill moved by Mr. J. N. Basu, observed that the provisions for punishment under the Bill were less drastic than those of the Indian Penal Code and as such the Bill would be unworkable.

Mr. Abul Kasem, opposing the passage of the Bill, said that the proper way to deal with the evil was propaganda work and not legislative interference.

Mr. W. G. Wordsworth supporting the final passage of the Bill said that they as legislators should use the strongest instrument at their disposal to fight the evil and not depend upon propaganda by somebody else. And they would thoroughly shame themselves if they were to assume the view that because it was difficult they were to do nothing but leave it to time and circumstances

Dr. Amulya Ratan Ghose and Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin also opposed the final passage of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Prentice, explaining the Government attitude, said that in the matter of social reform their opinion was definite and that the initiative should always come from private persons. Although the Government believed that the success of the Bill would depend upon efforts made by the society, they believed that the Bill in its present state would be workable. In a matter of the kind, the Home Member pointed out, it was free to all the members of the House to vote as they liked, but personally Government would like to vote for it.

CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL AMENDMENT BILL

The Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary dated March 30, 1933 notifies that His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to order, under rule 18 of the Bengal Legislative Council Rules, 1920, the publication of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1933. The Bill is designed to give Government wide powers of control over the Corporation employees, particularly the Corporation school teachers and to prevent them from committing "offences against the State". The Bill has also made provisions for compelling the Corporation authorities to remedy without delay any defects and irregularities that may be pointed out by the auditors and the Local Government may make rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions relating thereto.

Statement Of Objects And Reasons

In the beginning of July, 1932. Government addressed a letter to the Corporation of Calcutta asking whether teachers employed by them in their Primary Schools had participated in the civil disobedience movement or been convicted of political offences, and enquiring what disciplinary action the Corporation had taken or proposed to take. To this inquiry the Corporation replied that they were not responsible for the political activities of their employees outside their office hours. This was a position in which Government could not acquiesce, and the Legislative Council were therefore, informed on the 16th December, 1932, that legislation would be introduced to deal with the matter during this session. This explains why it is proposed to insert in Chapter IV, Part II, of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, the sections which are included in clause 2 of the Bill. The remaining clauses are intended to enforce obedience not only to these new sections but also to others which are already in the Act.

Safeguarding Ratepayers' Interests

In the Calcutta Municipal Act the legislature, while giving very wide powers to the Corporation, left to Government certain powers of control: in particular it made specific provisions against action being taken by the Corporation in certain matters of importance without the prior sanction of Government. But the powers which are given by the Act to Government for enforcing these provisions have proved too vague and too cumbrous to be effective: and the Act does not include any penalties which can be

enforced against persons responsible for these provisions being disregarded. There have been several instances in which the Corporation have been found to have acted in defiance of them and in which Government have been faced with the diffiulty that they must either condone the irregularities or take action so drastic as seriously, to affect the interests of the ratepayers. In addition, the auditors have drawn attention in successive reports to the slowness with which the Corporation dispose of audit objections, and to the consequent failure of audit to function as a safeguard against laxity in administration. Provision has accordingly been made in the Bill to strengthen the position of the auditors and also to introduce the system of disallowance and surcharge which, in Great Britain, has proved an effective barrier against illegal actions by members of Corporations. This proposal will not encroach upon the existing privileges or powers of the Corporation and will be quite consistent with the spirit of the the Act. The system of surcharge is meant to safeguard the interests of the ratepayers and, as a method of enforcing the law, appears to be preferable to any system under which powers might be given to Government to supersede the Corporation

Important Provisions

The following are some of the important provisions of the new Bill:—

After section 54 of the said Calcutta Municipal Act, the following sections shall be inserted, namely:

(1) Without the previous sanction of the Local Government in each case, no person shall be appointed as a municipal officer or servant if he has been convicted of an offence against the State or if he has been sentenced either to rigorous imprisonment for any term or to simple imprisonment for a term of six months or more.

(2) Every candidate for appointment as a municipal officer or servant shall—

(a) declare in writing that he has not been convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for any term or to simple imprisonment for a term of six months or more, or

(b) state in writing the particulars of any such conviction or sentence, and no person shall be appointed who has not made such declaration or statement.

(3) The declaration or statement referred to in sub-section (2) shall be submitted by the candidate to the authority making the appointment and shall be scrutinised by such authority before the appointment is made.

(4) Any authority who knowingly appoints a person in contravention of sub-section (1) shall, if any payment is made in consequence of such appointment, be deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to have authorised the making of an illegal payment.

(5) Any person who makes a declaration or statement under sub-section (2) which is false shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or both. The Local Government may prescribe the agency by which and the manner in which prosecution shall be instituted under this sub-section.

54B. (1) Any municipal officer or servant who, after the commencement of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1933, is convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced either to rigorous imprisonment for any term or to simple imprisonment for a term of six months or more shall be deemed to be dismissed from service with effect from the date of his conviction and his office shall become vacant from such date.

(2) Any person who is a municipal officer or servant at the commencement of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1933, and who after the first day of April, 1930 and before the commencement of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Act 1933, was convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced either to rigorous imprisonment for any term or to simple imprisonment for a term of six months or more shall, unless such conviction or sentence has been set aside by a competent court, be deemed to be dismissed from service with effect from the commencement of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1933, and his office shall become vacant.

(3) If the conviction or sentence in respect of which any person is deemed to be dismissed under sub-section (1) or sub-section (2) is set aside by a competent court after the date on which such person is so deemed to be dismissed, such person shall be deemed to have been suspended, and not dismissed, from service from the said date until the date on which the conviction or sentence is set aside.

(4) The Local Government may, of their own motion or on receipt of an application from the person concerned by an order in writing exempt any person from the operation of sub-section (1) or sub-section (2) in respect of a conviction to be specified in such order and in so doing may direct that such person shall be deemed to have been suspended from service from a date to be specified in the order until the date of such order.

(5) An application for exemption from the operation of sub-section (1) or sub-section (2) may be made to the Local Government by the convicted person within six weeks after the date from which he is deemed to be dismissed. If the Local Government fail to pass final orders thereon within six months after receipt of the application such person shall be exempt from the operation of sub-section (1) or sub-section (2), as the case may be, and shall be deemed to have been suspended, and not dismissed, from service from the date on which he was deemed to be dismissed.

After section 91 of the said Act. the following section shall be inserted, namely:—

91A. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, no grant shall be made by the Corporation, without the previous sanction of the Local Government, for the purpose of promoting primary education among boys or girls, to any institution which employs any person or to any person, who has been convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for any term or to simple imprisonment for a term of six months or more.

After section 121 of the said Act the following section shall be inserted, namely:—

121A. Any person who neglects or refuses to comply with a summons or requisition made under section 121, sub-section (2), shall be punished with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees in respect of each item included in the summons or requisition."

In section 122 of the said Act—

(1) after clause (a) the following shall be inserted, namely:—

"(aa) report to the Corporation any loss or waste of money or other property owned by or vested in the Corporation which has been caused by neglect or misconduct, with the names of the persons who in their opinion are directly or indirectly responsible for such loss or waste";

Public Health

The inadequacy of the Government's financial attention to the public health of Bengal was criticised on March 25. Mr. S. M. Bose moved a token cut of Rs. 10 on the demand of Rs. 1,13,500 under "Public Health—Pay of Officers', and discussed "the inadequacy of the grant and the ques-

tion of procuring sufficient expenditure for public health, if necessary, by loan."

Mr. N. K. Basu in supporting the motion strongly emphasised the urgency of greater attention to the public health of Bengal. Bengal was notoriously malarious and also notoriously suffered from many other diseases. The Government spent only about 40 lakhs of rupees on Public Health. That was only 3.6 per cent. of the total expenditure in the budget. "After spending 96.4 per cent. in nurturing people in law and order" said Mr. Basu "and other departments, the Government of Bengal is to spend the magnificent percentage of 3.6 for saving the people of the province" Proceeding, Mr. Basu pointed out that the Government of Bengal spent 40 lakhs of rupees on 5 crores of people of the province, that is a sum of 1 anna and 5 pies per head of population. Great Britain, on the other hand, spends 10 shillings per head and France 104 francs per head.

Tuberculosis Scourge

While there was a provision in the Budget of Rs. 10,000 for the Tuberculosis Association, there was absolutely no provision for the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital. There were at least 30,000 active cases of pthisis in Calcutta and 800,000 in the rest of Bengal. And there was not a single sanatorium for these cases in Bengal.

The cut motion was withdrawn.

The entire demand of Rs. 38,63,000 for "Public Health" was granted.

Agricultural Grant

On the motion of the Hon'ble Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui, a sum of Rs. 22,90,000 was granted for expenditure on the head "Agriculture."

In moving the grant the Hon'ble Minister hoped that by the provision of over 1 lakh of rupees for the solution of unemployment problem in Bengal, an "industrial atmosphere" would be created. But the amount would be insufficient for a total solution of the problem.

Expenditure For Troops In Bengal

On March 29 Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Woodhead moved a supplementary grant of Rs. 50,000 for expenditure for troops in Bengal.

Maulvi Hassan Ali moved a token cut of Rs. 100 on the above grant and thereby entered a protest against the recent shooting of 2 Mahomedans at Chittagong by the troops. The Government and its officers had no right, said Maulvi Hassan Ali, to take the life of innocent persons in the manner of the Chittagong incident. The mover of the token cut wondered what sort of care had been taken by the military officers concerned when the 'tragedy' took place, and asked whether they had justified the Government assurance that the utmost care would be taken in enforcing the laws.

Mr. Shantishekhareswar Roy, in strongly criticising the attitude of the Government said that the Government should at once change their policy of sending out the military parties to hunt out terrorists. If they did not do so incidents of the nature would recur, he added. And apart from the regrettable nature of the incident itself, it was likely to have a far-reaching effect.

Mr. R. N. Reid, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, replying expressed profound regret" and assured the House that proper compensation would be made to the relatives of the victims concerned. Mr. Reid doubted very much if the incident was a case in which blame could be fastened justly on any one. Neither on the men who lost their lives could the blame be laid, who by their ill-advised action of running had raised suspicion. Nor could the blame be placed on the Government who had taken

special measures to deal with the terrorists. The blame was on the terrorist gangs themselves, said Mr. Reid. It was due to their existence and continued activities in Chittagong that these measures had been brought into operation.

Nor even was the shooting cold-blooded, said Mr. Reid, because previous warning had been given. When being challenged the two men did not stop and ran away to a considerable distance, being determined to get away, the riflemen had reasonable suspicion having regard to the further fact that one of the absconders of the Armoury Raid Case had been disguised recently as a Mahomedan.

The motion was lost by 49 votes to 16.

The entire demand of Rs. 50 000 for the troops in Bengal was voted.

Earlier, the Council granted Rs. 11,46,000 for "Industries," Rs. 1,99,000 for "Miscellaneous Departments", Rs. 71,47,000 for "Civil Works," Rs. 56,000 for "Famine Relief" and Rs. 20,37,000 for "Stationary and Printing."

All the budget demands for 1933-34 were granted

Amendment of Standing Orders

The Council refused leave to Mr. N. K. Basu's motion for amendment of the Standing Orders, about 13 members objecting.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin referred to the motion of Mr. N. K. Basu seeking to amend the Standing Orders by empowering the President to regulate the debate in connection with non-official resolutions and the House to select important resolutions notwithstanding the order of precedence obtained by the ballot to which leave was refused. On behalf of the Moslem grant the Khan Bahadur asked if an opportunity for re-consideration of the motion might be allowed in view of the importance of the subject.

Mr. W. H. Thomson, on behalf of the European group expressed the same opinion and pointed out that the leave had been refused in a thin House. Hindu sections of the house also expressed the same opinion.

The Hon'ble President observed that it was not possible to reconsider the motion during the present session and advised the House to wait till the next session.

H. E. THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal addressing the Council on March 28th February said:—

Among political problems the most serious, both in its immediate aspect and in its bearing upon the future well-being of the province, is that presented by the continued existence of a terrorist conspiracy with ramifications extending throughout and beyond the limits of the province. The record of the year has been marred, as you well know, by a number of deplorable outrages as a result of which four valued servants of the Government have lost their lives. It is an elementary obligation of Government—an obligation which they owe equally to their own officers and to the public at large—to combat this menace by all the means at their disposal. To that end the resources of the Police have been strengthened in various directions in pursuance of a considered policy. Bodies of troops have also been stationed at various centres throughout the Province so that there may be no room for doubt either as to the determination of Government to grapple effectively with the situation or as to the reserves upon which they can draw in case of need. In these measures we have of course enjoyed the advantage of the ready co-operation of the Government of India at whose charges moreover the troops are maintained. I am satisfied that the presence of the troops has had the effect that was anticipated and that the

misgivings that were expressed in certain quarters have been proved groundless.

Side by side with these administrative measures the provisions of the ordinary law have been reinforced. During the year this Council passed the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act as well as minor amendment of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Arms Act, thereby equipping the Government with useful additional powers. There are, I am glad to say, encouraging indications of an improved and a progressively improving situation.

Civil disobedience, except in a few areas, is no longer an active menace, though the mischief is in many places only latent and still liable to break out afresh if the grip of the law were to be relaxed.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the Ordinances have now been withdrawn and their place taken so far as necessary by Acts of the Legislature. The thanks of Government are due to this Council for their timely recognition of the need for arming the Executive with exceptional powers. The Council were assured that Government would use the powers so conferred with moderation and would invoke them only where real need could be shown to exist. I invite your attention to the fact that the Emergency Powers Chapter of the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act has been applied only to eight districts in the province and the Public Security Act to only three sub-divisnons of one district and one sub-division of another. A year ago the Ordinances which these Acts replaced were in operation throughout the Province. The co-operation of the Council with Government in the enactment of these measures is, I am glad to think, being reflected in an increasing disposition on the part of the general public to support and assist Government in its task of maintaining peace and good order.

Economic Condition

To turn from the political to the economic sphere the condition of the jute market, with which the prosperity of the province is so closely bound up, has been deplorable. Misfortune might, however, have been turned into disaster had not the mills wisely agreed among themselves upon a policy of regulated output. Tea also has fallen upon evil days. Here, too, however, the industry showing a capacity to face realities and there is a fair prospect of measures being agreed upon which should result in stablising of market conditions at an improved level. The price of paddy has touched another low record during the year. Fortunately, the outturn has been good so that the horrors of famine have not been added to the miseries of general impoverishment. But the position of all dependent on the land at the close of a third year of acute depression is extremely difficult. It is not surprising that there should have been some loose talk of recourse to remedies that would only relieve the difficulties of one section at the expense of another. I emphasise the fact that all are suffering zeminders, mahajans and ryots, and suffering from conditions outside the control of all. Government in the Revenue Department are showing and will continue to show the utmost consideration for those who may through no fault of their own be unable for the time being to meet their just obligations. I have certain further comments to make on the economic aspect of our affairs, but it will be convenient to reserve them till I come to deal with the constructive side of Government policy.

Retrenchment

The preoccupations of the Hon. Finance Member during the past year have been many and grave. A Retrenchment Committee has been set up

and its report has been in your hands for some time. Government and the public are indebted to the members of the Committee for a masterly review of our public expenditure in all branches. The Council will be kept informed from time to time of the progress made. The Hon. Mr. Woodhead has already dealt with some of the more important aspects. The Committee have themselves recognised that certain of the economies recommended would involve a lowering of the standard of efficiency and also that retrenchment alone could not produce a balanced budget. Under the compulsion of absolute necessity measures involving the acceptance of a definitely lower standard could and would be taken but they are to be avoided, if at all possible, particularly at a period of transition when it must be a point of honour to hand over to the autonomous Government shortly to be brought into being an administrative machine adequately equipped for the work it will be called upon to perform. Had the recent financial history of the Province been defferent, economy would have presented a fewer difficulties, and had the revenues been available to Bengal to which she is in justice entitled the Province would now have been in a better position to weather the economic storm. I do not suggest that if during the past twelve years Bengal had employed the revenue which she can justly claim under an equitable financial settlement, the money would not have been spent. It would have been spent; but we should have had something to show for it and, further, the margin available for retrenchment in times of financial stringency would have been much larger. Bengal's standard of expenditure has always been low. In 1929-30, the last normal year before the advent of the present depression, the expenditure per head in Bengal was the second lowest in India, the only other province with a lower standard of expenditure being our neighbour—Bihar and Orissa. It is, I think, clear that if Bengal's expenditure per head in 1929-30 instead of being as low as two and a half rupees had been as high as the figure of just over four rupees in Madras, not to speak of the figure of eight and a quarter rupees in Bombay the scope for retrenchment would have been much greater and the task of producing a balanced budget would have been an achievement which could have been accomplished without permanantly impairing the efficiency of the administrative machine.

Reduction of Cabinet

The Committee recommended a reduction in the size of the Cabinet from seven to five members. I have given most careful consideration to this recommendation as it was my duty to do. I have no doubt that under normal conditions we could carry on the work fairly comfortably with a Government of six members and if there were no question of preserving a communal balance the number might even be reduced to five as recommended by the Committee. But conditions are far from normal in several departments of Government and we must expect during the next few months a very heavy addition to the burden of work—affecting all members of Government—in connection with the scheme for constitutional reform. This moreover, is work which will have to be done against time. In all the circumstances, therefore, I have come to the conclusion, after much thought, that it is not worth while to incur the disadvantage of disorganising the existing arrangements for the sake of the small saving that would be realised during the comparatively short period that is now expected to elapse before the inauguration of a reformed constitution. I have the less hesitation in coming to this decision since all the indications go to show that under the conditions of the future it will not be possible to carry on the work of Government with fewer than seven Ministers.

I come now to the constructive side of Government policy. While we have been compelled by circumstances to assert the authority of Government and to seek and where necessary to employ exceptional powers to deal with movements which aim at undermining that authority and destroying respect for law, and while I claim that all experience goes to show that the outward manifestations of disorder can only be dealt with by what are called repressive measures and that any Government that neglects or fears to employ such measures is sealing its own doom, my Government have always realised that there are certain underlying or predisposing causes of unrest that must be removed if lasting improvement is to be achieved. It is not enough to meet force by force or to overbear lawlessness by asserting the majesty and power of the law. An atmosphere must, if possible, be created in which the seeds of disorder will not readily germinate. Here in Bengal, as any careful observer must realise, there are problems political, social and economic, formidable no doubt in character but amenable, I am sure, to treatment, given imagination, resolution, and goodwill, the solution of which would, in a short time, change the whole aspect of affairs.

Departmental Activities

The Hon. Minister for Education has been able to evolve a plan for bringing the Primary Education Act into partial operation during the coming year.

The Hon. Minister for Agriculture and Industries has organised a scheme of work parties twenty-eight in number, which will shortly go out to every district of the province to demonstrate the possibilities of our indigenous village industries under improved methods of work. He has brought into existence the machinery contemplated by the State Aid to Industries Act.

Funds are also to be provided for the demonstration of improved methods of dealing with sugar-cane, which, under the skilled guidance of the Agricultural Department, is so rapidly assuming importance among the agricultural products of the province.

Under the Minister's instructions, the Co-operative Department is now conducting a special investigation into the possibility of establishing land mortage banks as a means of relieving the agriculturist of part of the burden of his long-term indebtedness. In response to a widely expressed demand a strong and representative Committee has been set up to consider the problem of jute in all its aspects. We are fortunate in having been able to enlist the services of Mr. Finlow as Chairman of this Committee.

The Hon. Minister for Local Self-Government has also made his contribution. Apart from the Act, so skilfully piloted by him through this House, reforming and bringing up-to-date the constitution of our municipalities, under which 52 municipal bodies will be reconstituted on the basis of elections to be held during the ensuing month, he is initiating a campaign on novel lines against that universal scourge malaria, which is sapping the vitality of the people. In one selected area an experiment which may have far reaching consequence is being undertaken, under the most skilled advice, to determine whether it is practicable by the systematic administration of quinine in combination with a comparatively new drug called plasmoquine to eliminate malaria from an entire tract. Funds are also being provided for the wide-spread administration of quinine by means of a special organisation to be improved for the purpose in five districts in which the population has been declining owing to malaria and in addition the amount of quinine to be distributed through dispensaries is being largely increased. Work is also being undertaken, in conjunction with the Irrigation

Department in several localities with a view to the flushing of the land, where the conditions prove to be suitable, with siltladen water, in accordance with the principles so strongly advocated by Dr. Bentley.

I should mention also that a draft Bill has been prepared to provide for the establishment of a Waterways Trust for the better conservation of our great navigable waterways, which extend, I may remind you, in this province to no less than twenty thousand miles, apart from small 'beels' and 'khals.'

Federal Finance

These measures cover, gentlemen, a wide field, though they represent only the beginnings of what I hope may develop into a balanced scheme of economic and social betterment. But their institution at this juncture—vital though they are to the interests of this province and, as I believe of India as a whole—would be nothing but a mockery if we could not as a Government look forward to anything better than a continuance of our present financial plight. The House is well aware of the claim that has been put forward with the support of all interests in the province. The report of the Federal Finance Committee of the last Round Table Conference, adopted without a single dissentient voice by the full Conference, marked a most important step in advance. Our claim is accepted in principle and for the future we pass to the discussion of details. The details are, indeed, important and we cannot as yet permit ourselves any relaxation of effort, but I know we are assured of sympathetic consideration on the part both of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State and I have every hope—I say this deliberately—that when the full scheme of Federal Finance comes to be promulgated we shall find that substantial justice has been done to Bengal's claim. That is the bright side of our picture. Now, what I ask myself and what I must ask you, gentlemen, is this. Are the results of the efforts put forth by the Government of Bengal and by our representatives at the various Round Table Conferences (whose services I wish most cordially to acknowledge) going to endure in full measure for the benefit of this province or are they in part going to be frittered away as the result of the conduct of a section of those on whose behalf those efforts have been made? The expenditure incurred with the authority of this House in combating various subversive movements amount, as the Hon. Finance Member informed you last week, to no less than 112¼ lakhs in three years. That sterile expenditure is still going on. If it could be rendered fruitful if the talent which is now applied to attempting to frustrate the policy of Government could be directed into constructive channels Bengal in spite of the inherent difficulties of her problem—difficulties of which I am acutely conscious could, I am convinced, look forward under the new dispensation to a future in every way worthy of her distinguished past and would hold her head high in the counsels of Greater India. Our scale of public expenditure is the lowest, I may again remind you, excepting our neighbour Bihar and Orissa, of any province in India. Our land is exceptionally productive and Calcutta is the greatest commercial and industrial centre in India. There is ample scope for development without incurring a charge of extravagance, and if we only unite in making use of our opportunities even that most intractable of problems,—one which it is difficult to contemplate without a shudder for it is a veritable tragedy '*bhadralog*' unemployment—will, I believe, yield. I have been glad to discern in various quarters signs of an awakening to realities of a desire to work together in constructive planning for the development of our resources.

INTERPELLATIONS

Transferred to Andamans

On March 6th Satish Chandra Roy Chaudhury asked (a) Will the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Political (Jails) Department be pleased to state—

(i) How many persons have been transferred to the Andamans from Bengal from January, 1932, up to February 15, 1933.

(ii) What is the minimum sentence of imprisonment covered by these transportation orders so far; and

(iii) What is the minimum age of persons so far transported?

(b) Do the Government intend to observe any rule regarding the minimum age and minimum sentence up to which, and the offences for which persons convicted are liable to be transported to the Andamans?

(c) What are the criteria according to which the Government make the selection of persons to be transported to the Andamans?

(d) Of the persons so far transported, how many were enjoying division I and division II privileges respectively, before transporation and after conviction?

(e) Are those privileges being retained and allowed in the Andamans.

(f) Are the prisoners in the Andamans allowed to carry on correspondence with their relatives at home. If so, at what intervals?

(g) Are the rules regarding the control of such correspondence the same as in Bengal jails?

(h) If the answer to (g) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to lay a copy of the rules on the table ?

(i) Are the parents or other guardians of prisoners informed before they are transported for affording them an opportunity of interview?

(j) If answer to (i) is in the negative, are the Government considering the desirability of doing so in future?

The Hon'ble Member-in-charge replied: (a) (i) 82.

(ii) Five years except in one case of 4 years' sentence.

(iii) 16 years 2 months.

(b) Five years' sentence is being observed as the minimum, but no limit in age. The exception to this rule referred to in (a) (ii) was transported before the present rules were brought into force.

(c) Prisoners convicted of terrosist crimes and serious political crime are ordinarily selected.

(d) Division I—Nil.
Division II—48.
Division III—84.

(e) Yes.

(f) Yes. They are allowed to write and receive one letter a month.

(g) and (h) In the public interest Government are not prepared to give the information.

(i) It was not possible to arrange for interview with all the prisoners of the first batch, but in the case of all prisoners sent subsequently the parents or guardians or friends were written to allowing interviews with the prisoners.

(i) Does not arise.

C. D. Movement Convictions

On March 9th. Babu Suk Lal Nag asked: Will the Hon. Member-in-charge of the Political Department be pleased to lay on the table statement showing the total number of persons convicted in 1930 in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement; the total number thereof placed in Division 1, 2 and 3 respectively; the total number of persons convicted in 1932 and the total number thereof placed in Division 1, 2 and 3 respectively?

The Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied: In 1930—No separate account of such persons was maintained but the approximate number was 5,600. In 1932—11,786.

Total number thereof placed in Division I, II and III respectively—1930—No account kept: 1932—Div I—28, Div II—312 and the rest in Div III. No account previous to 11th February 1932 kept.

Health of Lady C. D. Prisoners

On February 23rd. Maulvi Mahomed Fazlullah asked: Is the Hon. Member in-charge of the Political (Jails) Department aware of the ailment of Mrs. Kamal Kumari Ghose, a Civil Disobedience prisoner from Noakhali now undergoing imprisonment in the Berhampore Jail (Female) ? Is it a fact that the lady has been suffering from eye troubles? Did the Hon. Member receive a petition from Babu Hari Nath Ghose, a pleader of Noakhali, the husband of the lady, where in the petitioner has prayed for making necessary arrangements for her treatment?

Hon. Sir P. C. Mitter replied: Yes

Maulvi Mahomed Fazlullah: Will the Hon. Member be pleased to inform whether any arrangement has been made for her treatment?

Hon. Sir P. C. Mitter: The prisoner's ailment is reported to be neither serious nor urgent. Besides the ordinary jail medical treatment, she has been attended to by an eye-specialist, but on 18th December, 1932, she refused to appear before the latter for examination.

Maulvi Mahomed Fazlullah: Will the Hon. Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Mrs. Kiran Prabha Chowdhury, a Civil Disobedience prisoner from Noakhali, now undergoing imprisonment in the Berhampore Female Jail, has been suffering from asthma? Will the Hon. Member be pleased to state whether the lady has been placed under proper treatment?

Hon. Sir P. C. Mitter: It is reported that on the 13th December 1932 the prisoner complained of asthma for which she was treated. Since 21st December she has not complained of it again.

C. D. Prisoners in Dum-Dum Jails

On March 11th. Babu Suk Lal Nag asked: (a) Has the attention of the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Political (Jails) Department been drawn to the annual report of the European Association, Calcutta?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence which the Association had with regard to the conduct of the Civil Disobedience prisoners at the Dum-Dum Special Jails, as also the report, if any, of the Superintendents of the Jails?

(c) Did the Government make any enquiry into the allegations?

(d) Were any prisoners found guilty?

(e) If the answer to (d) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state—

(i) whether any punishment was awarded them; or

(ii) whether any remission of sentence earned by them were withheld or withdrawn?

The Hon'ble Member-in-charge; (a) A copy of the report has been received.

(b) Government are not prepared to publish this correspondence or any report received from their own officers.

(c) An enquiry was made into the state of discipline in the jail.

(d) It was found that discipline was unsatisfactory.

(e) (i) Prisoners who broke the rules have been punished as the occasion demanded.

(ii) This form of punishment is classed with "Other punishments". The information asked for is therefore not available.

Quartering of Troops

On March 21st Satish Chandra Roy Chowdhury asked:—Will the Hon. Member-in-charge of the Political Department, be pleased to state what is the total amount of costs so far incurred by the Govt of Bengal on account of, and incidental to, the quartering of troops in different districts of Bengal? Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied: Final figures have not yet been worked out, but so far is known at present the expenditure incurred by the Govt. of Bengal since Dec. 1931 is Rs. 2,07,000.

Babu Satish Chandra Roy Chowdhury:—Will the Hon. Member state whether the Govt. of Bengal made any representation to the Govt. of India not to throw any burden of the costs on Bengal in view of its financial difficulties and with what result?

Hon. Mr. Prentice:—The Govt. of Bengal have agreed to bear certain charges but every endeavour is being made to reduce the provincial Govt's liabilities to a minimum.

Services of Regiments at Dacca

Rai Satyendra Kumar Das Bahadur asked: (a) Will the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Political Department be pleased to state what are the distinctive services and functions of two military forces, the Dorsetshire Regiment and Eastern Frontier Rifles, both stationed at Dacca?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state whether it is possible by negotiation with the Army Headquarters to place the Dorsetshire Regiment under the orders of the District Magistrate of Dacca who may thus be empowered to utilise their services whenever necessary?

The Hon'ble Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied: (a) The Eastern Frontier Rifles are not a military force, but a provincial police force organised on military lines. Members are appointed under the Police Act and enrolled under the Eastern Frontier Rifles Act, 1920. They are a special force for use in emergencies wherever required throughout the province. The Dorsetshire Regiment are a purely military force under the central military authorities and as has been explained in the Government communique are part of the augmented garrison lately brought into Bengal for the purpose of strengthening the forces of Government.

(b) No.

Definition of Depressed Classes

On March 21st Babu Jitendralal Banerjee asked (a) Will the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Appointment Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Prime Minister's Award contemplated that there should be a definition of the Depressed Classes for each province and as a general rule this definition should be based upon the principles advocated in the Franchise Committee's Report? (b) What is the definition which

the Government has adopted in this province ? (c) Is that definition based upon the tests laid down in paragraphs 285 and 286 of the Franchise Committee's Report ? (d) If there is any deviation—(i) what are the reasons for such deviation: and (ii) whether the approval of His Majesty's Government has been obtained for such departure from principles sanctioned by them ?

Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied (a) The Prime Minister's Award contemplated a definition based on the criteria advocated by the Franchise Committee only in those provinces where the criteria were suitable. It is definitely stated in the Award that modifications may be found necessary in some provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable to the special conditions of the province. (b) and (c) No definition has been adopted by the Government of Bengal for the term "Depressed Classes." The member is referred to paragraph 4 of the Bengal Government Resolution No. 122-A.R, dated the 16th January, 1933, in which it is stated that a list of the "Scheduled Castes" has been prepared on the basis of the social and political backwardness of the castes, and the necessity of securing for them special representation in order to protect their interests. (d) (i) The criteria suggested by the Franchise Committee would not be suitable for the province. (ii) Paragraph 9 of the Prime Minister's Award permits deviation from the tests laid down by the Franchise Committee.

Babu Jitendralal Banerjee: (a) Will the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Appointment Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Franchise Committee asked the Government to supply a list of castes and sub-castes which it considered to be depressed, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) ? (b) Was the Statement C reproduced at pages 220-221 of the Franchise Committee's Report (Volume II) supplied by the Government in response to such query ? (c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, were the Government satisfied that all the various castes included in that statement fulfilled the criteria mentioned in (a) ?

Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice: (a) Yes. (b) and (c) Yes, but in reply to question II of their additional questionnaire the Franchise Committee was informed that the list of castes to be included in the "Depressed Classes" was at present under revision and that it would be impossible to arrive at any decision regarding the final list before the date fixed by the Franchise Committee. In point of fact Government never did submit a final list to the Franchise Committee.

Scarcity of Water in Jails

Rai Sahib Sarat Chandra Mukhopadhyaya asked: Is the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Political (Jails) Department aware—

(i) Of the adverse remarks made by the jail visitors on several occasions and that resolutions after resolutions were passed by the Jail Committee since June, 1930, regarding scarcity of water in the Tamluk sub-jail for drinking and other purposes; and

(ii) That the grievances of the prisoners (undertrials and convicts) in the said sub-jail in this matter have not yet been removed ?

The Hon'ble Member-in-charge replied:—(i) and (ii) The fact is that during the dry season lasting for about three months in the year the water-level in the tube-well of the sub-jail goes down and the yield becomes small. The Board of Visitors therefore recommended that a new tube-well should be sunk. This could not be given effect to for want of funds. During the

dry-season water is supplied to prisoners for drinking and other purposes from a reserve tank outside the sub-jail after proper chlorination.

No complaint against this arrangement has been received from prisoners.

Independence Day Arrests

Dr. Amulya Ratan Ghose asked: Will the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Political Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(i) How many men and women have been arrested for observing the Independence Day on the 26th January, 1933, in Calcutta and in different other districts in Bengal;

(iii) At how many places severe or violent lathi charges were restored to;

(iv) Hiw many people had their heads and limbs broken, due to the lathi charges of the mild type;

(v) How many lost their lives owing to the lathi charge of the severe type.

(vi) At how many places the police opened fire to quell the crowds;

(vii) How many people died in consequence of police firing and how many injured; and

(viii) Whether there will be any enquiry as to the justification or otherwise of such police firing ?

The Hon'ble Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied: (i) 90 males and 80 females were arrested in Calcutta. No detailed information has been received as to arrests in districts.

(ii), (iii) and (iv) Lathi charges were resorted to in some places in order to disperse unlawful assemblies. Government have no detailed information as to their number or nature

(v) None.

(vi) One.

(vii) No deaths occurred; five persons were injured.

(viii) The usual enquiry required by the Police Regulations, Bengal, has been held.

Soldiers' Tours in the Mufassil

Babu Kishori Mohan Chowdhury asked:—(a) Will the Hon'ble Member-in charge of the Political Department be pleased to state whether the expenses incurred in the tours of soldiers from places to places in the mufassil will be borne by the Government of Bengal ?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state what amount has already been spent and what amount is expected to be incurred during this year ?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state—

(i) How long the soldiers will travel in this fashion; and

(ii) What useful purpose is intended to be served by such tours ?

(d) Is the Hon'ble Member aware that reports have appeared in the press that poor villagers have been forced to subscribe to the expenditure of the reception of the soldiers?

The Hon'ble Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied:—(a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

(e) (i) The period over which such marches will be continued will be determined by the local military authorities with a view to local conditions and requirements.

(ii) The marches are part of the training of the troops and are intended also to encourage the well-disposed towards Government and to demonstrate to the disaffected that Government have power to enforce their orders.

(d) Such reports have appeared, but Government are not satisfied that they are true.

Official Apathy to Answer Questions

On March 25, the House defeated the token cut of Maulvi Abdul Hamid Shah by 59 votes to 19 by which he drew "attention to the apathy of Government in not answering important relevant questions put by members in the Legislative Council." The mover complained that important questions put by them as representatives of the poor agriculturists were often treated with neglect by Government members.

Supporting the motion Mr. S. C. Roy Chowdhury said that important questions were often answered in two ways by Government members, either by keeping absolutely silent or by saying that they have nothing further to add.

Mr. Santisekhareswar Roy said it could not be denied that there had been an increasing tendency on the part of the Government Benches to ignore questions put by non-official members. In some cases replies had been hardly courteous. In other cases there had been insinuation that non-official members put questions to embarass and harass the Government Mr. Roy protested against this attitude of the Government and pointed out that they put such questions in order to bring to the notice of the Government grievances of the public and misdeeds of Government servants

Rev. B. A. Nag remarked that questions were put often in a way which could not at all be called wise and answers to them often involved an enormous amount of labour on the part of Government

Mr N. K Basu asked the Government members to take note of the feeling that existed among certain sections of the House with regard to this matter. He pointed out that the very fact that the Chair had ruled on several occasions that he could not compel the Government members to answer questions, showed that there was some defect somewhere

Mr. J. L. Banerjee replying to Rev. B. A. Nag stressed that the questions were intended to involve an enormous amount of labour on the part of the Government. What were the Government members there for ? It was a part of their duty to answer the questions

Replying Hon Mr. Prentice said that they honestly endeavoured to answer all questions as quickly and as fully as possible. He denied the charge of lack of courtesy with regard to their answers.

The token cut, as stated, was negatived by 59 to 19 votes.

The House also by 55 to 36 votes defeated a cut motion of Mr. N. K. Basu calling attention "to the non-acceptance of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee with regard to the Reserved Departments."

Public Security Act

Replying to Maulvi Abdul Hakim the Hon'ble Mr. Prentice said that the Bengal Public Security Act, 1932 had been enforced in certain localities in the Province. Giving reason for this action, the Home Member said that "the Government were satisfied that the Civil Disobedience movement still persisted in certain parts of Midnapore district and in the Arambagh sub-division of Hooghly. In the other cases, the extension of the Act was called for in view of preparations for the holding of the Congress Session."

Congress Arrests

Mr. Santisekhareswar Roy asked on 31st March if any order had been issued prohibiting the session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta, the Hon'ble Mr. W. D. R. Prentice replied: "No such order has been issued."

Mr. Roy: "Had the Government issued any order for the arrest of any persons in connection with the Congress ?"

Hon'ble Mr. Prentice: "Chapter II and III of the Bengal Public Security Act has been extended to Calcutta and certain other areas in the province."

Mr. J. L. Banerjee: "Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state the number of arrests made in connection with the Congress ?"

Hon'ble Mr. Prentice: About five hundred.

Mr. Banerjee: Would it be correct to say that the holding of the Congress itself is not an offence ?

Hon'ble Mr. Prentice: "That is a matter of opinion."

Mr. N. K. Basu: Will the Hon'ble Member to pleased to state if these arrests are being made for creating a sober atmosphere for the consideration of the White Paper ?

Hon'ble Mr. Prentice: I am afraid that was not the matter under consideration.

Mr. Santisekhareswar Roy: Is the Government in possession of the list of members of the Reception Committee ?

Hon'ble Mr. Prentice: The Government has had a certain amount of information.

Mr. Abul Kasem: Why were they arrested on 30th and not on the 29th ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Prentice made no reply.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

THE first session of the Bombay Legislative Council was held on the 6th February, and a long list of agenda was marked for discussion. Among matters of general interest a resolution by Rao Bahadur Chitale, recommending the Government to take steps to move the Government of India to add a rule to the Government Service Conduct Rules, prohibiting Honourable Members and Ministers of Government from allowing members of the Bombay Legislative Council to reside with them as their guests, as such a practice is contrary to public interests.

Rao Bahadur Kale moved that the Council recommends Government to constitute a Central Board for primary and secondary education, composed of representatives of the Bombay Government, the school boards, local authorities, University, labour organisations and educational bodies to advise the Minister of Education in preparing a well-considered scheme in order to give effect to the principles of the recommendations of the report of the Committee on primary and secondary education in 1929.

Another resolution recommended Government to give clear instructions to authorities concerned to be more liberal in dealing with cases falling under the Indian Press Act. It adds that there is urgent necessity for so regulating their attitude towards the press in this Presidency as not to infringe its liberty and add to difficulties already experienced by publishers and writers in the performance of their legitimate functions. The resolution further says that securities given by a press should not be confiscated merely at the sweet will of a Magistrate unless each case is judicially declared to be fit one for confiscation and unless reasonable opportunity is given to the press in its defence.

Government was also recommended to postpone by one month the dates of payment of land revenue in various Talukas in the presidency.

Another interesting discussion demanded the introduction of a legislation for registration and licensing of money-lenders.

Mr. Tolani moved that Government should bring Bills before the next session of the Council introducing joint electorates and also doing away with nominations in local bodies.

The same member asked for preference to be given to Sindhis for permanent vacancies in Sind.

Mr. J. B. Petit recommended Government not to give effect to the recommendations of the Bombay Government Reorganisation Committee without previously ascertaining the views of the House.

The Government was again approached with a request that remission of land revenue, not less than twenty to fifty per cent, be granted to agriculturists in the presidency for 1932-33, the recovery be suspended, that land revenue, Takavi loans and other dues recoverable as land revenue be postponed for two years, that a liberal policy be pursued in recovery of land revenue and that land revenue be reduced in certain parts of the presidency where it was unreasonably high.

The temple entry question was also touched on in the Council when Rao Bahadur Bole recommended Government to promote measure to enable untouchables to enter Hindu temples that were endowed with Government land, or were receiving cash payments from Government.

IMPROVEMENT TRUST BILL

The Bill to further amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act of 1888, with a view to transferring the powers and duties of the trustees for the improvement of the City of Bombay to the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, was taken up for discussion on February 11th.

The Minister for Local Self-Government, introducing the Bill, said that the step was taken to amalgamate the Improvement Trust of the City of Bombay with the Corporation under the Improvement Trust Transfer Act of 1925. The purpose of the Bill, continued the Minister, was to provide machinery with the powers necessary to enable the Corporation to assume direct charge of the property and responsibilities of the Improvement Trust. The Government had granted substantial loans, and they were vitally concerned with its financial soundness. The Government had made available an additional revenue to the extent of Rs. 8 lakhs, rising probably in fifteen years to Rs. 11 lakhs.

Mr. Meyer Nissim, supporting the Bill, said that at the conference held on 5th October, a provisional understanding was arrived at between the representatives of the Government and the Corporation, by which it was agreed that the trust was completely to be amalgamated with the Corporation by an amendment of the Municipal Act and that a committee on the lines of the Standing Committee was to be constituted composed of twelve councillors elected by the Corporation and four councillors nominated by the Government.

BUDGET ESTIMATES

After giving a resume of Bombay's financial position since the introduction of the reforms with its declining income and increasing expenditure Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Finance Member, in introducing the Budget estimates of the Bombay Government for 1933-34 in the Council on February 18th. said:

The Government have set themselves to the task of reconstruction and reorganisation to secure the greatest efficiency with the least cost. This is a big task and will take considerable time for its full effects to be realised. The Government pledge themselves to pursue this policy unrelentingly with the object of securing a budget which will not only balance but will again provide for gradual development."

Sources of Revenue

Referring to the sources of revenue for the presidency he said that Bombay, an industrial province being deprived of all her share of the income tax, has been handicapped in comparison with agricultural provinces. Receipts under all heads had fallen and another factor which contributed to the decline of our income after the reforms was the withdrawal of recurring grants amounting to over 40 lakhs. The result has been this amount had to be provided from revenues. While on the introduction of reforms there was an opening balance of over 3 crores the reduction in the budget balance in the last ten years has been four crores. In those years, excluding capital expenditure, development schemes cost the very large amount of 8½ crores.

After detailing the increase of pension and interest charges the Finance Member stated the effect of these items on the budget was a net cost of development schemes 62 lakhs, increase in interest charges 77 lakhs, increase in pension charges 57 lakhs. "It will be seen the Government of to-day is faced with a financial position fundamentally worse than at the beginning

of the reforms period." He added that the fundamental cost of administration has been reduced by 38 lakhs a year, while expenditure on beneficient departments has risen by 31 lakhs.

After referring to the retrenchments effected in all departments and the new proposals he said:—Our retrenchments have taken effect from top to bottom. It will be recollected that the size of the Cabinet has been reduced from 7 to 4. I have every hope provided the house passes the financial measures now presented for their consideration, we shall be able to improve our financial position in course of the coming year to such an extent that we need not borrow for deficit."

BUDGET DISCUSSION

The general discussion on the budget for 1933-34 began on February 20th.

Mr. Patel (Kaira district), initiating the discussion, said that the Services in this country were overpaid He did not agree with the Government that the revenue had fallen owing to the Prohibition policy adopted at the suggestion of this House

Referring to the acceptance by the Government of the recommendation of the Reorganisation Committee, Mr. Patel remarked that the Government seemed more readily to approve those recommendations which would go to increase the revenue, than those which would help to reduce the cost of expenditure. He complained that Gujeratis were not given a chance in the Government service.

Mr. Karbari (Thana district) strongly criticised the Government policy in regard to the Backbay and Sukkur barrage schemes Lack of provision for rural development, he said, was the greatest drawback of the budget.

Dr. Alban D'Souza (Bombay City) struck an optimistic note He said that he felt the signs of a definite improvement in the present Budget as compared with the previous years. While the cost of administrative charges had been reduced by Rs. 38 lakhs the nation-building Departments profited by Rs 31 lakhs.

Mr Baloch (Karachi) appealed to the Government to cut their coat according to the cloth, and he demanded a cut in the Civil servants' salaries.

SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET GRANTS

Discussion on the supplementary budget grants was resumed on March 7th.

Sir Rustam Vakil, Minister, local self-Government, moved for grant of Rs. 4,368,000 under medical transferred.

Dr. M. D Gilder moved for a cut of Rs. 100 from the total demand of Rs. 260,900 for the St. George's Hospital, as he thought that the expenditure of the hospital was top-heavy. The mover concurred with the report of the Reorganisation Committee, which in view of the heavy expense in maintaining such a hospital had suggested that separate wards with a few beds be attached to other hospitals in the city for the use of European patients.

Dr. J. B. De Souza, however, opposed the cut motion as he thought it was wrong for Government to undertake maintenance of a hospital exclusively for a single community.

Dr. J. B. De Souza, however, opposed the cut motion as he thought that compared with the total income of the presidency the expenditure for maintaining the hospital was not much. He said that patients with European habits were admitted into the hospital, and that Indian Christians were also admitted.

Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed said that on principle it was very painful to realise that whereas Chinese, Japanese, Europeans and all others entered into the hospital, Indians, who were people of the land, were excluded.

Major-General Froster, Surgeon General to the Government of Bombay replying to criticisms said there were only two courses to deal with the question. Either reduce the cost or as the Reorganisation Committee report suggested, close the institution. Closing down will mean closing of 120 beds which are already in use. He thought it was wise to reserve hundred beds for Europeans and Anglo-Indians while the rest should be open to all communities; hospital accommodation is over two hundred beds. The speaker also pointed out that every effort was being made to keep down the cost of the hospital. Mr. Rustom Vakil tracing the history of the institution said that the hospital came into being when East India Company acquired Bombay but he did not find any documentary evidence to justify why the hospital is being styled European hospital exclusively. It has been always open to persons of all communities having European habits which is the only exception made in this connection. The mover of the cut being satisfied withdrew the motion.

Discussion was continued on March 8th on the cut motion moved by Dr. M. D. Gilder in connection with the budget estimate under heading medical (transferred).

Rao Saheb P. D. Kulkarni said that inspite of the repeated requests and resolutions in the Council to give encouragement to Ayurvedic dispensaries, the Government had made no move in the matter.

Mr. P. N. Vakil of Ahmedabad outlined the procedure adopted at present for selecting the Surgeon-General and characterised it as a retrograde step.

Mr. J. B. Petit asked the Government whether the time had not come to consider the abolition of the post of the Surgeon-General. He said it was in the nature of a post office between the Government on the one hand, and various medical departments on the other, and such abolition would not cause any inconvenience, or affect the efficiency of the management. It was also asked if the time had not come to abolish the I. M. S. altogether.

Sir Rustom Vakil replying to debate assured the house that instructions would be issued to medical officers to pay particular attention that no hardships were caused to the poor. As regards abolition of I. M. S. and the Surgeon-General's post he said that the White Paper would contain various recommendations. Referring to Ayurvedic dispensaries, the speaker said, the Government after careful consideration had decided on establishing scholarships to enable students to receive proper training and that the scheme would have materialised, had it not been for the great financial crisis.

The motion for a cut of Rs. 1,000 moved by Dr. Gilder was then put to vote and pressed to a division, was lost, 45 voting against and 26 for it.

Mr. R. R. Bakhale referring to the scheme of the hospital saving association which the Surgeon-General had declared was laid on the lines of the national health Insurance Act of England, characterised it as a fraudulent and outrageous scheme. According to the scheme workers were to be insured *en bloc* through their employers.

Anti-Malarial Measures

"That human being are being treated worse than trees, that human life is not considered worth even one anna and that while people are rapidly falling victims to Malaria, the Government are coolly going on with increas-

ing tea plantations in that district, caring more for forest administration than for the well-being of people," was the story told in the Bombay Legislative Council on March 9 by Mr. G. S. Gangoli (Kanara) in moving a cut of Rs. 100 from the total grant of Rs. 91,100 asked by the minister of health in connection with the anti-malarial measures taken by the Government in the presidency. Mr. Gangoli said that 992 persons died in Kanara last year owing to malaria. He continued, nearly a lakh of people were affected by Malaria, but the Government only was spending Rs. 1300 including the pay of the officer who distributes quinine in that district, while Rs. 60,000 being spent by way of allowances to Government officers there.

Mr. R. B. Ewbank, General Secretary, replying said that it was impossible owing to financial stringency, to undertake any relief work on a large scale.

Mr. Gangoli, however, withdrew the motion contending that his main idea was to draw the attention of the Government to the enormous difficulties under which the people of Kanara were labouring, so that the Government may revise its policy to treat people with sympathy.

Agricultural Policy

"We have been under the British Government for the last 150 years. We have had crores of rupees spent on the agricultural department. What is the actual good to the agriculturist? Has he been able to grow one grain of corn more than was grown before the British came to this country," asked Mr. C. M. Patel (Kaira) on March 10th speaking out a cut motion to reduce by Rs. 100 the grant under agricultural research and propaganda. Mr. Patel continued that the money spent on the agricultural department was a mere waste. He challenged the Government to show if their so-called experiments, put into practice, would bring to agriculturists any profit better than what he was getting by following the agelong ancient methods. The speaker's main grievance was not that his district was totally neglected. Nothing was done by way of practical demonstration to teach agriculturists to earn more by adopting improvements and making land more productive.

Mr. P. D. Kulkarni, mover of the cut motion pleaded for abolition of assisting engineers, chemists and other superfluous staff in the agricultural department.

Earlier discussions centred round the public health grant which was passed, the minister giving assurance that everything possible was being done by liberal grants to the district boards. Inspite of his assurance to bear ⅔ of the salary of the health officers, the minister said, very few district boards had availed themselves of the advantage offered by appointing additional health offcers.

Almost all the cut motions dwelt at length on the Government's utter incompetence to demonstrate that agricultural vocation could be made profitable to students who rather took up service instead of taking up agriculture as a means of livelihood. The movers of the cut motions also said that yearly about thirty lakhs were spent on feeding the so-called highly paid technical experts, and challenged the Government if they could show tangible results after spending such huge sums on agricultural propositions.

The cut motion however was withdrawn finally.

TAXING TOBACCO

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Finance Member, Bombay, introduced on February 25th a Bill for the imposition and levy of fees on the sale of

tobacco in the Presidency of Bombay excluding the City of Bombay. He read out the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill already published. He quoted the Taxation Inquiry Committee's report in support of the fact that the principle had been accepted. He, in conclusion said that the present financial difficulties of the presidency required the Government to tap this source.

The Government was rudely shaken when Mr. B. S. Kamat, nominated member from Poona, sprang a surprise, leading the opposition to the Bill. Quoting the statement of the Secretary of State for India in the Commons, Mr. Kamat drove home the fact that the Bombay Presidency had been overtaxed. The present Bill affected poor agriculturists.

This lead was followed by Mr. Achrekar who accused the Government of extravagance. There was no justification for additional taxation in these days of depression. The four lakhs which Government hope to realise through tobacco duty, could be earned by the Treasury Bench and highly paid official foregoing a portion of their salaries and fat allowances. There would have been no need for additional taxation if the recommendations of the Thomas Committee had been fully carried out.

The European spokesman, Sir Reginald Spence, supported the Bill stating that the duty affected only consumers and that too in a very small measure. The Government should be helped to carry on the administration.

The Finance Member accepted on February 25th the amendment to restrict the tenure of the Bill to two years instead of making it permanent as was originally intended.

CONTROL OF RENTS IN BOMBAY

"The unprecedented economic depression, coupled with the salary cuts and unemployment, had considerably reduced the purchasing and spending powers of the people and under the circumstances it is almost impossible for the city-dwellers to bear the heavy rent-charges which took away a disproportionately heavy slice from their reduced earnings. Having regard to the present situation, therefore, the rents which had gone up should be brought down and landlords, like every one else, should be made to make certain sacrifices and be content with reduced rents." said the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill published in the Bombay Gazette, on March 7th which sought to regulate rents of premises in the city and Presidency of Bombay.

The Bill, when enacted into law, is to come into operation in the first instance only in the city of Bombay and in notified municipal areas in the Bombay Suburban district and Thana District. The Act is to be in force for a period of five years.

The Governor-in-Council may, by a notification in the Gazette, extend the operation of the Act into any area.

PUNITIVE POLICE TAX

An adjournment motion was sought to be moved on March 9 by Mr. Gangoli to discuss the question of Government's levying punitive police tax in the Kanara district.

The Home Member raising a point of order observed that discussion on this motion should be limited to the question as to who should bear the cost of the Police, and the Council should not go into details as to the imposition of the punitive force.

The President concurring with the Home Member held that the discussion should be narrowed down to the question of cost only although the

Council had a right to criticise the action of the Government to certain extent.

The motion was put to vote and declared lost, the requisite number of members not rising in their seats to grant leave for the motion being moved.

RURAL INDUSTRIES.

Rao Bahadur Parulekar (Ratnagiri) speaking on March 16th on the G. S. Gangoli's cut motion of Rs. 100 under head 'Industries,' instanced several industries, such as tin cans manufacture, cocoanut fibre and rope making, mango cultivation and canning of same; he said that there were great possibilities for these industries in the present expanding market, not only in India but in foreign countries too. Continuing he instanced several others, such as plantain fibre, silk worm breeding, fish canning, fish guano, oyster business.

Mr. Vakil (Ahmedabad) regretted that the Government was very slow in their pace. He cited an instance of the weights and measures Bill which was passed more than six months ago, but had not yet come into operation and had been allowed to remain a dead letter.

Strongly deprecating the policy of Government, Mr. V. A. Surve, (Ratnagiri) said that the constructive work done by khadi giving many a home means of livelihood, was being killed. The steel industry which was formerly carried on in his district, though on a small scale had been crushed and they had now to import their requirements at their rates from foreign countries. Year after year he observed, the House granted demands and year after year old cottage industries were dying out, giving place to foreign products. If such was the state, then where was the necessity for high paid experts whose duty it was not only to guard the native industries but also develop them as paying propositions?

Mr. Gokhale (Poona City) strongly criticised the policy of the Government for not providing sufficiently for the industries, for which Madras provided about 9 lakhs every year, no doubt about 7 lakhs going for development of textile industry. The Department of Industries, he said, lacked initiative and proper direction in guiding the industries that were already in existence. They only called in for suggestions which were never acted upon.

Sir Rustom Vakil replied to the Vakil's (Ahmedabad) charge for delay in enforcing the weight and measures act, for the working of which he wished to make a demand of a supplementary grant. Speaking on the debate on Industries he hoped that his colleague the Minister in charge (Agriculture) would give effect to the several suggestions made. Mr. Vashampayan (Sholapur) said that his district contained, perhaps the largest number of handloom workers, and complained that nothing had been done towards development of that industry.

Mr. H. W. Buloch (Karachi) said that Sind knew of the existence of the Industries Department only through some of their exhibits displayed in their province. Beyond this the Department had done nothing either to promote or develop their industries. Government, when it suited them, could not only afford to spend crores on non-productive schemes as Back Bay Reclamation, Improvement Trust chawls, etc., but could equally well raise crores on loans. But whenever a question of national development and nation building schemes came up, there was a long wail of 'financial stringency.' Public money, he maintained should go for nation building development and not for feeding the so-called experts, who never did any practical work. He added that the fishing industry, which provided great openings was not properly developed. He drew a graphic picture of Japan's efforts to improve their industries and asked if Japan had not already succeeded in

driving out all other competitors from the Indian market, notwithstanding all the so-called tariff walls put up against its 'dumping.' "Why and how was this?" he asked. 'It is because the State was strongly backing up its industries by way of finances, expert advice, low freight rates, cheaper costs of production etc.

Mr. Gangoli, regretted that a country having in abundance all the raw material had still to depend on imported stuff, for which crores of rupees were being spent. Raw material goes out to Europe, America, Japan and other places, only to return in some other form at higher prices.

Mr. Kambli, the Minister-in-charge, thanked the members for admitting the beneficence of the Industries Department. The suggestion of a compilation of a Directory of Industries in regard to the raw materials of India, was, he said, under consideration. A grant of Rs. 1 1-2 lacs went to the V. J. T. Institute, Rs. 15,000 had been allotted for scholarships in that institute. Negotiations are proceeding for handing over a portion of the Royal Institute to teach chemical technology, which will be opened by the University of Bombay. The history of State scholarships showed that the holders were in Government service, except one who was engaged in his own industry. Gold thread, beads, glass bangles, peppermint, straw boards, etc., have been encouraged and developed to a great extent.

WHIPPING BILL

"Communal riots are but a passing phase and people will realise their responsibility in greater degree with the advent of Responsible Government," declared Syed Miranshah (Sind) opposing the first reading of the Whipping Bill in the Bombay Council on March 2.

In introducing the Bill the Home Member referred to the recent prolonged and serious rioting in the city and made it necessary to provide that hooliganism shall be punishable with whipping.

Syed Miranshah referred to the move in the civilsed nations for abolition of capital punishment and appealed to the Bombay Government to withdraw the bill.

More than half a dozen speakers in strong and emphatic terms condemned the Bill as inhuman, barbarous, out of the date and dangerous to be entrusted into the hands of the executive in the prevent conditions of the city and the country in general.

A reference was made by Mr. J. B. Petit to the statement by Secretary of State that the Bill had public sanction behind it. Mr. Petit asked the Government whether public opinion was even invited upon it.

The Home Member replying stated that the Government had not acted on a spur of the moment and said that he was not aware of public opposition so far. He added that public opinion was in favour of the measure.

Several members opposed the latter Bill as in their opinion it would be no proper preventive of communal riots.

Mr. R. D. Bell, Member-in-charge replying to critics said despite curfew orders and other preventive measures rioting persisted in Bombay and therefore the only way of meeting such a situation was by passing the measure. However, he assured the House that provisions of the Bill will be used with caution and none need be afraid of excessive or oppresive use as a result of the measure. The Bill was thereupon sent to the Select Committee to report within two months.

KARACHI MUNICIPAL BILL

The Legislative Council met on March 18th to discuss the Government's Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the municipal

government of the City of Karachi. The Municipality of Karachi has been till now, governed by the Bombay District Municipal Act of 1901. The present Bill, though mainly based on the City of Rangoon Municipal Act of 1922, incorporates some of the provisions of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act of 1925, opportunity, of course, having been taken to remedy some of the many practical difficulties, experienced during the working of the three Municipal Acts in the Presidency. According to the Government, the provisions of the new Bill have been so arranged as to enable the Corporation to carry out amendments with the sanction of the Commissioner of Sind, without going through the laborious course of legislation, a method now invariably followed in England in the case of similar institutions.

Mr. Jamshed Mehta, the President of the Karachi Municipality, complimenting the Government on the introduction of the Bill, said he was however, disappointed that some of the provisions contained therein tended to retard progress. Referring to the system of separate electorates, proposed in the new Bill, he drew the attention of the House to a resolution passed at a meeting of the Karachi Municipality, advocating joint electorates. This resolution, he said, was proposed and seconded by Moslems. Speaking of the application of the Compulsory Education Act, he said he would like to go back to their old system of School Boards, instead of relying on the Government Act, which somehow remained a scrap of paper owing to lack of money. Turning to electoral qualifications, he regretted that the enhancement of the present rate from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 was no compliment to the acknowledged advance and progress of the Municipality. He complained that this enhancement would considerably reduce the number of voters. He asked if that was the way to gradual introduction of adult franchise.

Criticising the land acquisition policy, he said that the Government were always quick in acquiring possession after which they lagged behind in executing the purpose for which the lands were acquired. He instanced a case of a certain plot so acquired under pressure from their Municipality about 15 years ago, for the purpose of building a bungalow, which has never been built up to now. "Perhaps building the bungalow itself was still under consideration," he said. He requested the Select Committee that was proposed to be created to go very carefully into the details and the various complaints and charges made in the House.

Sir Ghulam Hussain, Finance Member said that he had the unique privilege, with the full permission of the Hon'ble Minister now in charge of the Bill, to explain some of the provisions, as he claimed to be the sponsor of the Bill that was now before the House. Karachi, he said, rose to its present position from a poor fisherman's ground, and he was proud to see that it was now getting one of the best bills for the administration of its municipal affairs. Replying to Mr. Mehta's charge of introducing an element of communal feeling, he said that by mutual agreement they had separate electorates. Against this no objection had been raised. If the Municipality wished to have joint electorates, then it was the duty of Government to see that other minority interests were protected and adequately represented, which would have to be done by nomination to adjust the inequalities.

As regards land, he said that lakhs and lakhs worth of land had been given to the Municipality, to whom the Government had always been very partial.

VILLAGE PANCHAYAT BILL

After a most dull and uninspiring debate lasting over five hours, during which various amendments were moved by officials as well as non-officials, the Village Panchayat Bill passed its second reading on March 17th.

Rao Saheb P. D. Kulkarni moved that the following be added after clause 40 which relates to suits not triable by the village Bench:—

"The cases to be tried by the Panchayat should be conducted by the help of jurors, list of whom will be prepared by the Mamlatdar of the Taluka from amongst the group of the villages recognised for the purpose by the same authority.

It was, however disallowed by the President, on a point of order being raised by the official side that the clause was out of place and ought to have been moved at an earlier stage when the power to constitute village Benches to try suits and cases was discussed.

Time-Limit

Clause 53 was then taken up for consideration. Section (1) of the clause reads as follows:—

"No suit shall be entertained by a Village Bench after the expiration of one year from the time when the right to sue first accrued."

Mr. L. R. Gokhale (Poona) moved that this sub-section be replaced by the following:—

"The limitation for suits under this Act shall be the same as is provided by the Indian Limitation Act IX of 1908 namely 3 years."

When the amendment was put to vote the result appeared to be in favour of the mover, but on being pressed to a division by the official side, it was lost only 8 voting for it as against 36.

Clause 88 lay down that every Panchayat shall levy such of the following taxes or fees as may be necessary for the proper discharge of its duties:--

1 A tax upon the owners or occupiers of houses and lands within the limits of the village:
2. A pilgrim tax.
3. A tax on fairs and festivals.
4. A tax on sales of goods.
5. Octroi.
6. A tax on marriages, adoptions and feasts.
7. Any other tax which may have been approved by the District Local Board and sanctioned by Government.

No Marriage Tax

Mr. J. S. Kadri (Northern Division) wanted the tax on marriages, adoptions and feasts to be deleted.

Dewan Bahadur D. R. Patil (East Khandesh) stated that the matter had already been thrashed in the Select Committee, before it was included in the Bill.

Mr. Pestansha N. Vakil had no objection to the tax being levied. The custom of collecting monies for education and similar purposes was prevalent among various communities. The tax, he added, was not compulsory and would affect only those villages where there was a Panchayat.

Mr. Haji Nur Md. Baloch (Karachi) protested against the tax on pilgrims.

Mr. R. B. Ewbank moved that the following proviso be added to Clause 88 (2) (VII)—"Provided that when such tax is other than a tax specified in Schedule II to the Schedule Taxes rules made under Clause (a) of sub-Section (3) of Section 80A of the Government of India Act, such tax

shall not be levied without the previous sanction of the Governor-in Council."

Mr. Ewbank's amendment was carried.

NEW REVENUE FOR LOCAL BODIES

A new tax is to be levied on trades, professions and callings by the various local boards in the Presidency. The proposal was first made by the Reorganisation Committee (Thomas Committee) who estimated that it should be possible for all the local boards together to obtain about 4 lakhs of rupees from the tax.

The Legislative Council gave on March 27th authority to local boards to impose the tax with the sanction of the Commisioner. Government have drafted and published certain model rules and bye-laws in this behalf, and have asked the Commissioners to advise the district local boards to adopt the same with necessary alterations to suit local circumstances.

"The annual rates of tax proposed in the model rules are:

Rs. 100 or 2 annas per 24 maunds of cotton ginned, whichever is less, from owners of ginning factories:

Rs. 100 or 2 annas per pressed bale, whichever is less, from owners of cotton pressing factories;

Rs. 4 to Rs. 8 from owners of other factories—handloom factories, aerated water factories, flour mills, etc.:

Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 from excise and intoxicating drug licensees:

Rs. 10 from practising barristers or pleaders;

Rs. 10 from doctors;

Rs. 5 from hakims and native physicians;

Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 from engineers;

Rs. 10 from contractors, brokers, architects, auctioneers, insurance agents and owners of printing presses;

Rs. 2 from petty traders and shopkeepers;

and Re. 1 from hawkers.

GOVERNOR PROPOSES TO EXTEND COUNCIL'S LIFE

The Government of Bombay in a communique, dated March 29 announced that, in view of the fact that His Majesty's Government are pressing forward with their policy for constitutional reforms. His Excellency the Governor has decided not to dissolve the Legislative Council or hold a general election this year. He proposes, when the time comes, to exercise his powers under section 72-B of the Government of India Act and extend the life of the Bombay Legislative Council for such period as may be expedient in the light of the conditions then prevailing.

INTERPELLATIONS

Treatment in Bombay Jails

On February 17, replying to Mr. G. S. Gangoli of Kanara regarding the treatment meted out to Bengal prisoners transferred to jails in Bombay Southern Division Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member stated that two prisoners were transferred from Bengal to the southern division jail, namely Niranjan Sen Gupta and Rakhal Chandra Dey. They were not given any Bengali diet and the Government had no intention of allowing the same as their health was not adversely affected by the present diet.

Loyalty Meetings

Replying to Mr. G. S. Gangoli regarding loyalty meetings the Home Member stated 200 meetings were held between April and November last

year. The meetings were organised by non-official gentlemen with the object of co-operating with Government. The local officials only gave personal help.

To another question he said that it was not true that persons refusing to join these meetings were detained in jail or given notice to report to the police. Mr. Bell also said the Government did not discourage such meetings and it was common for Government officers to preside over such meetings.

European and Indian Cotton Merchants' Negotiations

The settlement recently arrived at between European traders and Congress regarding trading conditions in the Cotton Market formed the subject matter of a volley of questions on March 24th. One member asked whether the Government were aware of negotiations and settlement between European and Indian Cotton Merchants on behalf of Congress; whether four persons arrested in cotton market were released as a result of settlement and whether the Government were aware that by their action they recognised Congress authority.

Sir Ghulam Hussain, General Member in reply stated that the Government had seen the statement regarding the Bombay cotton market issued by certain European firms but they had no knowledge of negotiations which preceded the issue of the statement.

Regarding the release of our detenus, the General Member said that they were released after they had given the necessary undertaking regarding their future conduct.

Replying to another question he said that the Government were not aware that Japanese cotton merchant had taken an active part in the boycott of the cotton market.

Replying to a further question he said that the Government were not aware that members of the Board of Directors of the East India Cotton Association had entered into an agreement with Congress representatives regarding cotton trade.

Asked if the Government thought it necessary to enforce provisions of Cotton Contracts Act he said that the Government were of opinion that the state of affairs in the cotton market was such that intervention was not required presently.

Anti-Congress Propaganda

The alleged anti-Congress propaganda by Government in Kanara formed the subject of interpellations.

The Home Member said that it was not a fact that the Government were financing the "Vichari," a Karwar paper, for the purpose of anti-Gandhi propaganda. He further stated that the Government had authorised their officers to write to the local papers, when necessary, explaining the policy and measures of the Government, and supplying correct information on local affairs.

Visitors to Temples

In answer to a question by Mr. V. A. Surve (Ratnagiri District) Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Revenue and Finance Member, said that the Government were fully aware that non-worshipping visitors to religious shrines, temples and mosques were required to conduct themselves in such a manner as not to offend the religious feelings of the devotees and worshippers, and that in certain Hindu temples, the custom was to require all visitors wearing leather-soled shoes to remove them before entering the sacred precincts.

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES ACT AMENDING BILL

THE Legislative Council proceeded on January 23rd with the transaction of non-official business. The business consisted chiefly of Bills. The first to come up for consideration was Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar's Bill to amend the District Municipalities Act. The main object of the Bill is to provide for the appointment of Commissioners for 26 Municipalities whose income was not less than Rs. 2,00,000 per annum or whose population was not less than 50,000 according to the last preceding census.

LAND MORTGAGE BANKS BILL

On February 24th the Hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan introduced a Bill to facilitate the working of Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks in the presidency of Madras; and moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

It seeks to provide, among other things, for the grant of long term loans to agriculturists to enable them to redeem their lands from indebtedness, to carry out agricultural improvements and to acquire land for the formation of economic holdings, thereby promoting thrift and self-help among them.

COMMERCIAL CROPS MARKETS BILL

On February 24th the Hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan presented the report of the Select Committee on the Madras Commercial Crops Markets Bill and moved that the Bill as amended by the Select Committee be taken into consideration. The object of the Bill was to regulate the buying and selling of commercial crops in certain areas in the presidency and for that purpose, to form market committees whose duty it would be to enforce the regulations and to establish markets in which special facilities were to be provided.

Clauses 1 to 17 of the Bill which dealt with the establishment of markets, market committees, execution of contracts and market funds, were next passed without any discussion.

Clause 18 dealt with rule making powers of the local Government. The clause stated that the local Government may either generally or specially for any notified area or areas, make rules consistent with this Act for carrying out all or any of the purposes thereof.

The Hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan moved that for the words "in the following year" the following be substituted: "in such manner as the Local Government may direct."

After this amendment was put and carried, the Bill as amended by the Select Committee was passed.

The motion was carried and the Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

MADRAS LOCAL BOARDS ACT

The Council proceeded on February 24 with the reconsideration of the Bill to amend the Madras Local Boards Act 1920, which had been returned by H. E. the Governor with the following message:—

"On an examination of the Bill to amend the Madras Local Boards Act 1920, (Bill No. 25 of 1932), as passed by the Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 1st November 1932 and of the provisions of the Act, I find that a consequential amendment to section 49 of the Act should be made in order to make the new provisions fully workable. I accordingly return

the Bill to the Legislative Council under section 81-A (1) of the Government of India Act for its reconsideration. Some drafting amendments also appear to me to be necessary in the Bill. Opportunity may be taken to make such amendments."

The Hon. the Raja of Bobbili moved two amendments, which were adopted without discussions, the clauses as amended were allowed to stand part of the Bill.

MARUMAKKATHAYAM BILL

The House then proceeded to reconsider the Madras Marumakkathayam Bill which has been returned to the Council by His Excellency the Governor with the following message:

"I have carefully considered the reports of the discussions in the Legislative Council and the representations that have been made to me by deputations and otherwise in respect of the Marumakkathayam Bill which was passed by the Legislative Council on the 7th November 1932. It is clear to me that the Marumakkathayis desire this Bill and it is equally clear that not only does a large section of the people governed by the Aliyasantana law not want this Bill at all but that no section desires it as it stands. I therefore consider that it is desirable to exclude the followers of the Aliyasantana law from the operation of this Bill at present. If at some future date it is desired to include them within the scope of the Bill, a short Bill applying the provisions of this Bill to them with such changes as may be necessary may be introduced.

Mr. A. B. Shetty said that the Bill was not sprung as a surprise on the members of the Aliyasantana community. The agitation against the measure was got up only after it had been passed by this House. The Memorial presented to the Governor condemned the whole Bill as hasty, ill conceived, unwanted and unsuitable. The exclusion of the Aliyasantana Bill, he would say, had caused widespread discontent in the community and hoped the Government and non-official members would give their wholehearted support to a measure giving them the benefits of this legislation.

Mr. U. C. S. Bhatt then said that though he did not wish to oppose reconsideration of the Bill he must say that the proposed deletion of the existing clauses relating to Aliyasantana families would cause great hardship to male Aliyasantanas and convert them into so many "male widows".

After the Hon. Sir M. Krishnan Nair had made his reply, all the amendments were put to the House and passed without discussion.

The President announced before passing on to the next item on the Agenda that the Bill as reaffirmed would be presented to His Excellency for his assent.

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

The Budget for 1933-34 was presented to the Legislative Council by the Hon. Mr. H. G. Stokes, Finance Member, on February 25th.

	In Crores of Rupees		
	1931-32 Accounts	1932-33 Revised	1933-34 Budget
Revenue	16.85	16.89	17.26
Expenditure	16.80	16.26	17.22
Surplus(+)	+.05	+.63	+.04
Opening Balance	3.29	2.35	3.92
Closing Balance	2.35	3.92	3.44

After surveying the financial situation in the Presidency and discussing in detail the Estimates, Mr. Stokes dealt at some length with two matters of importance—the decision of the Local Government to restore the 10 per cent cut in pay so far as the provincial and subordinate services are concerned and the demand for remission of land revenue. The decision in respect of the former, he said, was taken having regard to the imperative need to honour their pledge to the services to the extent of their authority to do so. As regards the latter, he reiterated the Government view that if the resolution were accepted, the Government would be disabled to the extent of three-fourths of a crore a year, as the 'revenue cut' would certainly not be confined to a single fasli. The Government realised, he went on to say, that the decline of prices of agricultural produce had already affected in different degrees those who depend on land for their living or their income, but they were unable to accept the prseent demand which is one for an all-round reduction of land revenue regardless of the circumstances and conditions which vary from district to district. Should occasion require, he declared, the Government would take such steps for relief as they may be convinced are necessary, without adopting the expedient of an all-round 12½ per cent cut.

Revenue Estimates

The revenue estimates show a betterment of Rs. 128.07 lakhs, the figure being Rs. 1,721.68 lakhs as against Rs. 1,593.61 lakhs. The expenditure under Part I (i.e., expenditure against standing sanction) stands at Rs. 1,646.26 lakhs against Rs. 1,593.61 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 52.65 lakhs. The corresponding figures, as compared with the Revised Estimate for 1932-1933, are Revenue plus Rs. 32.89 lakhs, Expenditure plus Rs. 20.24 lakhs. The result is that we expect to have available during 1933-1934 a sum of Rs. 75.42 (say 75) ladkhs for expansion of outlay.

Expenditure.

Coming to Expenditure, the Budget Estimate (Part I) for 1933-1934 contemplates as compared with that of 1932-1933, a gross increase of Rs. 60.87 lakhs against which we can set off reductions amounting to Rs. 8.22 lakhs, thus arriving at the net figure of Rs. 52.65 lakhs already mentioned.

Revenue Closing Balance

The Revenue Closing Balance for 1933-34, after transferring for capital expenditure a sum of Rs. 26.36 lakhs, is expected to stand at Rs. 271.40 (say Rs. 271) lakhs.

DISCUSSION

Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar led the discussion on February 27th with a plea for immediate relief of the agriculturist. Though many of the members of the House were not satisfied with the figures given, Mr. Chettiar observed they were all obliged to the Hon. the Finance Member for his lucid statement. He recognised that the province 'continued to languish under the universal depression.' But it looked strange in view of this statement, that they should be budgeting for an increase of two crores in the current and ensuing years. Madras Presidency had been notorious as the most heavily taxed province of India. This year they had provided for restoration of full salaries, for expenditure on all Part II schemes, and the other requirements of the "standard of living of the State" and still had a 100 lakhs left over! Why then should not relief be given to the suffering ryot by carrying out the recent resolution of the Council? After all that would mean only sixty or sixty-five lakhs and would still leave a surplus of thirty or forty lakhs.

Economic Depression

Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty, speaking next expressed dissatisfaction with the budget proposals and disquiet at the speech of the Hon. the Finance Member. The Hon. the Finance Member though he admitted the fact that this presidency was languishing under trade depression, had stated that the total value of merchandise was big. But it ought to be remembered that total value of merchandise was big on account of the dumping of imported goods on their province to their great disadvantage. The very fact that mere importation alone had increased showed the economic depression prevalent in the country. With regard to the restoration of cut in salaries, the speaker said that the Hon. the Finance Member's arguments were fallacious. The Government had given many pledges to the people and had broken them also and therefore the argument that the Government would be breaking the pledge given to the employees would not hold water.

Drastic Measures

Mr. Hamid Khan said that the policy of the Government in framing their budgets seemed to be to make up the revenue necessary for their expenditure instead, as it should be, of adjusting thir expenditure to the tax-payer's capacity to pay. Government had no doubt been at some pains to reduce expenditure to some extent by bringing about a revision of scales of pay; but they had done nothing to abolish superfluous posts. Some drastic measures had to be adopted on the lines of what the Thomas Committee had recommended for the Bombay Government. The members of the House representing as they did the tax-payers, had no voice in shaping the budget so as to afford relief where it was necessary or direct expenditure where it was urgent. He hoped at least under the new reforms this power would be fully given to the representatives of the people. The present methods would leave the tax-payers so pressed down that no expansion in revenue or in constructive activities would be possible under provincial autonomy. Besides it was likely that there might be demands for contributions to other provinces and increase in expenditure as a result of reforms.

Relief of the Ryot

Mr. T. M. Narayanasami Pillai said that the present achievement of the Finance Member was not inconsiderable compared to what the situation was two years ago. They were on the brink of a precipice and it was the courage and ability that steered the province clear of a fall and brought them to a position of safety and comparative prosperity. But the most urgent need to-day was the relief of the ryot; that should be Government's paramount duty. The question of right, justice, were all on the side of the ryot. He had himself collected statistics from three different taluks and he had no hesitation in saying that the holder of even the richest plot of land was not now able to pay the kists out of the yield of the land. That the land revenue was coming in regularly was not an indication of the ability of the ryot to pay or of his profiting out of cultivating his land. It was on the other hand a proof of the effective methods adopted in collecting land revenue.

Low Price of Foodstuffs

Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar said that the depression in the price of food stuffs, especially rice, would not be relieved unless the railway freight was reduced and free competition existed between Burma and Tanjore rice. Till the railway freight was reduced there must be remission in assessment of land tax. The Government ought to have some consideration for the agriculturists. The resolution passed by the Council with regard to remission had

the support of the transferred half. The Ministers were answerable to the Council.

Assist Local Bodies

Mr. S. Ellappa Chettiar said that while the Government had recovered from the financial setback, the local bodies had not. Probably it had come to stay permanently in the local bodies; and the situation required serious attention of the Government. The local bodies were unable to meet the normal requirements from out of their slender resources. The Government had provided for larger grants for water-supply schemes, roads and bridges. But the policy followed by the Government of half grants, the other half being found by the local bodies, was not such as was calculated to help the local bodies in these years of financial stringency. Many of these boards had just been able to make provision just necessary for the maintenance of trunk roads and it would be next to impossible for them to take advantage of the half grants of the Government for which provision had been made in the Budget. The Government in view of the present situation, should relax that general principle and distribute the grants without insisting on the local bodies finding an equal amount. If there was to be no revision in the policy in the direction he had indicated, the local bodies in many cases would not be able to take advantage of the half grant, which would eventually lapse to the Government. The speaker then invited the attention of the Government to the long-standing grievance of the Salem Municipality for protected water-supply from Mettur; and impressed on them the need for undertaking the scheme without any further loss of time.

Official Replies

The official reply to the various speeches of Members on the Budget, was given on March 1st. Muhamad Oosman, Home Member reviewed expenditure under head the police department and said there had been a steady decrease in expenditure for the last two years. At present there was no civil disobedience and they did not know what would happen in future. He regretted it would not be possible to make any more retrenchment. Regarding uplift of labour and depressed classes he said the suggestions made would be borne in mind.

The Law Member referring to reduction in stamp duty said, it was not possible to reduce the existing stamp duty, because the revenue from that head would be reduced Referring to release of Moplah prisoners he said the Government would consider, and if it was possible to release them, the Government would do so.

Mr. Kumaraswami Reddiar, Minister for Education, said the hope he had expressed last year had been realised, by allotting more money for education, and educational activities in this presidency would be improved.

The Minister for Development said investigation was being made into the question of providing marketing facilities for rice in Ceylon and as soon as the report was received, steps would be taken to carry them out. Speaking about improvement of agriculture he said lands were offered for cultivation, and educated graduates did not care to take them up.

The Finance Member said Madras need not take example from Bombay in the matter of retrenchment policy. As regards restoration of pay cuts he said it was because the Government felt that they were in a position to honour their pledge that they had restored the salary cuts, and added that the majority of Government servants were low paid.

LAND REVENUE REMISSION

Voting on demands for grants having been taken up on March 13 the Revenue Member moved for a grant of Rs. 18,25,600. Moving a token cut in

the allotment for taluk establishments, the member for Coimbatore urged the need for reduction in land tax and water cess. Several members followed suit criticising Government's land revenue policy, and stressing the need for remission of land revenue.

The Revenue Member, replying said that Government had proposed to suspend in the last kist two annas in a rupee on ryotwari assessment proper due on lands held on ryotwari patta. The districts affected by this order were Vizagapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna, Bellary, Anantapur, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, South Arcot, Tiruvannamalai and Chengam, Taluks of North Arcot, Madura and portions of Malabar (about half the district) in which resettlement had been or was being introduced and Gudalur Taluk of Nilgiris. "As the last kist is paid in March in some districts and some persons may have paid fully the kist due this month, orders will be issued that any sum, collection of which has been suspended, will be refunded on application."

Total Revenue Suspended

He continued that the total amount of revenue, which had been suspended under these proposals, was estimated at Rs. 31 lakhs. Government had given the matter very careful consideration, and were endeavouring to assist the agriculturists so far as it lay in their power, and while safeguarding the revenues of the province were prepared to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards the ryots in present unfortunate conditions.

Token Cut Carried

A token cut in Revenue grant was carried by 71 against 20 votes. When the grant for Excise Department was taken up Mr. Yakub Hassan and several members expressed disapproval of the Government's excise policy by means of a token cut. Mr. Sreenivasan, Depressed Class leader, said lab ourers, mostly of his community were worst victims of drink indirectly contributing to a large share of the Excise revenue. He urged if real prohibition be accomplished, a portion of the excise revenue should be set apart for their education, so that, they might become sober and give up drink.

The Minister replying reiterated total prohibition was the ultimate goal of the Government policy. Cuts being turned down, the excise demand was duly voted.

NEW SALARIES SCALE

On March 11th the Hon. Mr. H. G. Stokes moved "That the question of the revised scales of pay in respect of which notes have been placed on the table of the House be taken into consideration."

Commending the motion for the consideration of the House, Mr. Stokes said that the first point he wished to emphasise was the extreme importance of the question and the urgent necessity of effecting a reduction in the very large cost of the establishment of Government departments.

The proposals now before the House were of the "long range variety" and were in their ultimate effect calculated to save the tax-payer something in the neighbourhood of Rs. 55 or Rs. 60 lakhs a year.

The Retrenchment Committee, he pointed out, had also dealt with this question in their report. The total cost of establishment came to about seven crores of rupees; the total cost of the all-India services was about Rs. 85 lakhs and that of the Provincial (Gazetted) Services another Rs. 85 lakhs. About 5¼ crores was remuneration paid to that category of servants whose salary, in the popular view, should be increased, viz., those drawing Rs. 200

and below. The Retrenchment Committee had addressed themselves to this question and found that even if a reduction of 25 per cent. was made in the salaries of the higher officers, it gave only Rs. 21 lakhs.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

On March 21 Mr. P. V. Krishnayya Chowdry deplored the lack of a well-laid policy in the matter of education. So far as elementary education was concerned, they were still far off in the realisation of the ideal of universal and compulsory elementary education. The schemes suggested by Messrs. Statham and Champion were still hanging in the air. The Minister should chalk out a programme of action by which the desirable end might be achieved within a measurable length of time. Regarding secondary education, he said that aided schools deserved greater support from the Government. The management of these schools had been hit hard by the economic depression, but the treatment accorded to them by the Government was stepmotherly. He gave an analysis of the grants given in 1932-33, and said that there had been a cut of 30 per cent. in grants.

Sir A. P. Patro pleaded for putting elementary education on a broad basis in the villages. Without spreading education in rural parts, no system of democracy could succeed. It was necessary that the Minister should help local bodies and panchayats to promote elementary education. Mere G. O.'s and files would not spread education. The Minister must keep actual personal touch with local bodies and all other bodies engaged in the spread of education and by liberal grants and personal encouragement help in their task. In the Punjab a great deal had been achieved in the matter of expansion of elementary education and he asked the Minister what definite steps he had taken for the expansion of elementary education.

Education Minister's Reply

The Hon. Mr. S. Kumaraswami Reddiar, said: Though a number of schools were opened, the educational efficiency did not improve. The provision made in the Elementary Education Act of 1920 for introducing compulsion was found inadequate and ineffective. The result was that educational development in the direction of compulsion appeared to be a wastage of money. No power was vested in the local bodies to compel the children. There were, no doubt, defects in the system and Mr. Champion had made certain constructive proposals. The Muslim members, the Christians and Adi-Dravida members had opposed some of the proposals strongly. In the midst of these hostile criticisms, it was not possible to carry out the recommendations of the Champion report. It was no surprise, therefore, that the progress with regard to reorganisations of the system had to be slow and necessarily cautious. Sir A. P. Patro also asked for information about the bill that had been for some time under contemplation by Government. On a previous occasion, he had already stated the necessity of a bill to amend the Elementary Education Act. The defects in the Act were with regard to definitions of the age limit of the pupils, the compulsory levy of an education cess, etc., etc. He would certainly examine the question and try his best to bring in an amending bill. It was not till now possible due to the unprecedented financial stringency. If a bill had been passed, it would remain a dead letter. The local bodies had not sufficient money to give effect to the proposals. But he hoped to be able to do something to realise the object they had all in view.

COMMUNALISM IN SERVICES

On March 20th discussion centred round the grant moved by the Home Member for Rs. 1,52,72,800. A token cut was moved to discuss the question

of removing communal inequalities in Government services in regard to police administration.

Replying to the debate on this demand, Sir Mahomed Usman announced that Government had provided in the budget a sum of Rs. 4,000 being the amount sanctioned as compassionate allowance in April 1930 to the widow of Govindaswamy Mudaliar who passed away as a result of bullet wounds received during the police firing on Triplicane Beach.

The cut motion was withdrawn and the demand passed.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME

Another demand of Rs. 45,93,800 under head " Electricity Reserved " was moved by the Law Member. The need for investigating and bringing into being more and more hydro-electric schemes and introducing electricity in rural parts, at the same time making it cheap was impressed upon the Government by means of another token cut.

BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF DEVASTHANAM

On March 24th the Tirumalai and Tiruppati Devasthanam Bill was returned by the Governor with amendments that the local Hindu religious endowment board and the collector of Chittor should have power to appoint members for the committee for better administration of " devasthanam " as considered. Non-official members complained that the Governor's amendments were calculated to vest all powers of nomination in the hands of Governor and that therefore it would not be acceptable to the House. They also said that worshippers should have a voice in the nomination of members to the committee.

Various non-official amendments were moved which sought to vest powers of nomination in the committee composed among others of few Hindu judges of the High Court and one District Judge.

This was not acceptable to the Chief Minister.

The Leader of the Opposition then suggested a compromise vesting the power of nomination of all members in the Government itself, as he thought it was always a sound proposition to fix responsibility on one authority.

The Minister had no objection, and accordingly the amendment seeking to vest in the hands of the Government the appointment of all seven members of the committee of whom the mahant, if willing to serve, will be one, was carried.

The Bill was passed into law.

REVOLVER IN COUNCIL HALL

On March 21st Sir Muhammad Usman said that when the police were searching and examining the various galleries of the Council on March 16, the Sergeant on duty found a six-Chambered revolver inside one of the curtains of the Governor's gallery. There were six cartridges in it of which, three were intact and the other three empty. The Home Member appealed to the Members in this connection to see to it that unauthorised strangers did not get access into the hall.

INTERPELLATIONS

C. D. Convictions

On February 27th the Home Member in reply to a question stated 3,152 were convicted in Madras Presidency in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement in 1932, and 963 men and 33 women were undergoing imprisonment at the end of January in 1933.

Duty on Burma Rice

Answering a question whether the Government had ascertained how far competition of Burma rice was responsible for a slump in the price of the Indian rice and whether Government considered at any time the question of shutting out Burma rice from the province, the Minister for Public Works stated on March 1st that no detailed enquiry had been made, but it was not likely imports which did not exceed seven per cent. of the total consumption could have much effect on prices. He added so long Burma remained a part of British India, it was impossible to shut out her imports.

Treatment to Political Prisoners

The Law member replying to Mr. K. P. Rama Menon on March 1st stated the quantity of diet allowed to non-labouring prisoners in Cannanore Jail was seven ounces for the midday meal. As the prisoners were not doing any work, the original scales of nine ounces of rice had been reduced to seven ounces since December 7.

Further in reply to the same Member whether any prisoners were placed on tripod and lashed, the Law Member stated three prisoners were awarded whipping for repeatedly breaking jail rules, instigating other prisoners to break jail rules, insulting the Superintendent and offering forcible resistance to the jail staff.

State Prisoners

On March 24th several questions were put concerning the State Prisoners detained in the Presidency, the dietary allowance allowed to them and if the same was cut down on any account. The Law Member replying to them said that eight State Prisoners were being detained in this Presidency under Regulation III. They were Pratul Chandra Bhattacharjee Benoyendra Nath Roy Chowdhury, Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Jibanlal Chatterjee, detained in Rajahmundry Jail and Pratul Chandra Ganguli, Rabindra Mohan Sen Gupta, Ramesh Chandra Acharji and Trilokyanath Chakravarty, now confined in Trichinopoly jail. The Home Member also stated that the Local Government were merely Agents to the Government of India in regard to the detention of those prisoners.

Asked whether on account of a reduction in their allowance the State Prisoners in the Trichinopoly jail were living on one meal a day the Home Member said that the Government had not received any such report. The Home Member further stated that Benoyendra Nath Roy Chowdhury had no organic disease. He was neurasthetic but his health was satisfactory. Regarding detenu Romesh Acharji, the Home Member said that he had been improving since his operation for appendicitis in August last.

BIHAR & ORISSA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

PUBLIC SAFETY BILL

ON January 5th Government introduced in the Legislative Council the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill.

In the statement of objects and reasons, the Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Whitty, Member in charge of the Bill said:

The Special Powers Ordinance 1932, which was promulgated by the Governor-General to combat the Civil Disobedience movement expired on December 25, 1932. This Ordinance has enabled the Government to keep the movement in check, but the agitation against the maintenance of law and order is not dead, and any relaxation of control may, lead to the revival of such activities, which are intended to paralyse the Government, and which are also likely to cause suffering and loss to individuals.

The Central Legislature has recently passed an Act to maintain such provisions of the Ordinance as are deemed necessary to strengthen the normal criminal law applicable throughout British India. The Local Government consider it advisable to introduce the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Bill, which will supplement the Act of the Central Legislature, in order to meet the local conditions and which will enable the present Government of the Province and its successors to meet the danger of any concentrated movement prejudicial to public peace.

The additional powers which it is proposed to take under the Bill fall under four classes, and are dealt with in Chapters II, III, IV, and V. None of these chapters would be in force in any part of the province, unless specially extended by a notification. Chapter II enacts Sections 4, 13, 17 and 18 of the Special Powers Ordinance, and gives power to control suspected persons and take reports of public meetings. Chapter III, enacts Section 27 of the Ordinance, and makes possible the imposition of collective fines on the inhabitants of turbulent areas. Chapter IV enacts Sections 64 and 57 of the Ordinance, and gives power to deal with campaigns against the payment of such liabilities as land revenue, Chaukidari tax and rent. Chapter V enacts Section 72 of the Special Powers Ordinance, and is aimed at stopping mock funeral ceremonies which are a form of persecution from which the public have every reason to expect protection.

Chapter VI enacts Sections 22, 74, and 78 of the Special Powers Ordinance and contains miscellaneous provisions designed to facilitate the operation of the Act.

COMPETITIVE RECRUITMENT FOR PUBLIC SERVICES

After a long discussion in which several non-official members participated on February 13, the Bihar Council passed by 38 votes to 35 a resolution of Khan Bahadur Saghirul Huq as amended by Mr. S. M. Hafeez that 50 per cent. of recruitment to the Bihar and Orissa Civil Service, the sub-ordinate Civil Service, the Bihar and Orissa Police and Excise Services be made by annual competitive examinations subject to such tests as physical fitness as will be deemed necessary.

The Hon. Mr. Whitty on behalf of the Government opposed the resolution on practical grounds and said "no change was desirable in the existing system of nomination."

RETRENCHMENT IN P. W. D.

Raja P. C. Lall Chowdhury moved a resolution on February 14 asking Government to reduce the expenditure of the Public Works Department by half. The mover said that in present financial stringency, when they could not undertake new building works, it was essential to reduce the expenditure of establishment. He suggested that supervision of existing works be transferred to the District Boards.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. Shyamnandan Sahay and Maulavi M. A. Ghani supported the demand for retrenchment.

The Hon'ble Minister Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh and Mr. H. A. Gubbey, Chief Engineer, replying explained that Government had recently decided the amalgamation of the Roads and Buildings branch, and the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department and the Engineering Branch of the Public Health Department, thereby effecting a saving of Rs. 1,80,000 annually. Further savings were not possible, and it would not be practicable to transfer the works to the District Boards. Detailed suggestions of Members for economy, if brought in by notice, would be considered.

The resolution was ultimately withdrawn.

SHARE OF INCOME TAX

The Council by common consent adopted on February 13 in an amended form the resolution of Mr. Radharanjan Das recommending to the Local Government and the Government of India and other proper authorities the future financial settlement between the Central and Provincial Governments that provinces be distributed on the basis of their population as far as possible and that in such a financial settlement a large element of indirect taxation which could be distributed on the basis of population also be included. The mover complained of the meagre financial resources of the province and pointed out that expenditure of the province on the nation building departments was far below the average of other provinces. If the province was to progress on an equal footing with the other provinces in the Indian Federation the province should be given adequate financial sources.

Amendment

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Leader of the Opposition said:—

The amendment I move is that after the word "population" there should be added the words "as far as possible and that in such financial settlement a large element of indirect taxation, which can be distributed on the basis of population, should also be included." If the amendment be accepted the amended resolution will then run as follows:—"This Council recommends to Government to represent to the Government of India and other proper authorities that in the future financial settlement between the central and the provincial Governments the share of the proceeds of the income-tax proposed to be allocated to the provinces be distributed on the basis of their population as far as possible and that in such financial settlement a large element of indirect eaxation, which can be distributed on a basis of population, should also be included."

The reason why I move this amendment is not that I have any disagreement with the main object of the Hon'ble Mover, but because I think there is a better way of obtaining that object. So far as the substance of the resolution—which I seek to amend—is concerned, it was I who first made that suggestion, about this time last year, in the course of my remarks in the general debate on the budget. I said at that time that "Bihar and Orissa would gain if the income-tax was given to it on a population basis, as our

province has just about one-seventh of the population of British India." That being so, I am not and cannot be opposed to the resolution as moved, but I feel that in view of the changed circumstances, in the economic situation, we should now go further and make a more comprehensive suggestion which if accepted, will meet more fully our present needs and requirements.

The plain fact is that we have in Bihar and Orissa the densest population in the whole of India, and to provide what are commonly called social services, even on a very moderate scale, will cost a great deal of money. Unfortunately, we have a miserably small revenue and, it is essential that in any fair distribution of resources, we should get a share of the present central taxation based on our population. The hon'ble mover seeks to meet the difficulty by asking that income-tax alone should be distributed on a population basis. I have no doubt that what he feels is that, as the proposal which holds the field at present is to distribute income-tax, we have no option but to ask that this tax should be distributed on a population basis. But when you come to examine the meaning of this proposal, I feel that there are certain very great difficulties. The Government of India at present collect certain central taxes from all the provinces, and these they keep for their own purposes. These taxes are, after all, paid by the inhabitants of one or other of the provinces, and though it is a perfectly reasonable proposition that the Government of India should return a certain share of them to the provinces, it is but just and equitable that the share should be of taxation levied in the province, and not of taxation levied in some other province. That is the main difficulty in distributing the income-tax on a population basis. The amount paid by the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa in income-tax is far smaller than the amount paid, say, in Bengal or Bombay. If they are all put together and the sum distributed on a population basis, it would really mean that the Bengal or the Bombay tax-payer would be paying a direct subvention to Bihar and Orissa.

But I cannot see any reason why the distribution should be confined to the single head of income-tax. That is only a small portion of the amount which the inhabitants of this province pay to the Central Government in taxation. They also pay very much larger sums in indirect taxes on articles which are consumed by the general public. If the distribution is to be fair, it should include a distribution of all this type of taxes. Such taxation can only be distributed fairly on a population basis. The inhabitants of this province presumably, consume the same amount of such articles, per head, as the inhabitants of any other provinces, and the only way in which you can distribute such taxation is to count heads. It is for this reason that I am seeking to amend this resolution by turning it into a demand for a share in indirect taxation, and I am satisfied that this is the only practical way in which the financial difficulties of this province can be solved.

An Expanding Revenue

You will remember Sir, that for many years the criticism has been made that the Government of India have retained all the expanding sources of revenue, and have given the provinces only the inelastic ones. A single glance at our budget is enough to show the truth of this criticism. Income-tax is always regarded as pre-eminently an expanding source of revenue. At first sight one might suppose that in surrendering income-tax to the provinces the Government of India are reforming, and are at last generous enough to give an elastic source of revenue to the provinces. It is admittedly invidious to look a gift-horse in the mouth, but the position for us is too serious to risk our having a jaded and worn-out hack given to us by the Government of India. If you look at the actual amount of money collected

in income-tax, you will find that, in 1922-23, the total yield was 18 crores. Let us see how this elastic source of revenue has expanded since then. You will perhaps be surprised to learn that even after the very heavy increase in the income-tax rates, which were made in March 1931, the figure which the Percy Committee adopted as the normal yield of income-tax is still 18 crores! The tax may, in theory, be an elastic one, but it is very evident from these figures that in India, at least, it is not capable of being increased to large extent. I must confess to a very uneasy feeling that the reason, why the Government of India are now willing to hand over income-tax to the province, is that they have found out that it is by no means an expanding source of revenue, and that they realize that the only taxes which are really capable of bringing in a large revenue are the indirect taxes on articles consumed by the general population. Income-tax has thus become a fit source for the province, but the indirect taxes must be jealously kept for the Central Government ! This may be very convenient for them, but it is going to spell financial ruin to Bihar and Orissa. It is essential, therefore, that the new financial settlement should include the distribution of some indirect taxes. I have no doubt that the Hon'ble the Finance Member realizes this as much as we do, and I hope that both he and the mover of the resolution will accept the amendment, and that this House, as a whole, will press on the Government of India and the Secretary of State the urgent need for framing the new financial settlement on the lines which my amendment advocates.

Mr. Chandreswar Prasad, Mr. Narayan Sinha and Rai Bahadur Shyamnandan Sahay supported the amended resolution.

Official Reply

Mr. Brett, the Finance Secretary, on behalf of the Government said that Government were entirely one with the mover in desiring that the assignment of central taxation should be distributed on a population basis and with Mr. Sinha in his suggestions as the best way of getting it that they had extremely a dense population and it would cost a great deal to give them adequate social services, protection and administration. If the new Government was not in the financial sense to remain permanently in absurdly cramped position as the present Government, a large addition to their revenue was necessary and necessary in the very near future. The original resolution presented certain difficulties which Mr. Sinha had explained in moving the amendment. If he might add a little of his explanation, what they were dividing was taxation, that is certain sums paid by individual taxpayers to the Government of India. Part of this taxation was direct income tax and part indirect taxes on articles of general consumption, such as salt, kerosene oil, petrol and imported articles. Now the difficulty was not that the total amount of this central taxation which was paid by the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa was small but that was distributed in a way which did not fit in with the present proposals of distributing revenue. It consisted of a small amount of direct taxation. What they had a right to demand was that a reasonable portion of this sum should be returned to them for provincial purposes. But the system of distributing a particular tax must depend on the nature of that tax. The Percy Committee had estimated a net yield of taxes at 18 crores. They had in the province one-seventh of the population of British India. If income tax was all distributed on a purely population basis, their share would be nearly two and a half crores. But this was more than the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa actually paid. Clearly therefore if this method of distribution was followed, they should be getting large sums which were really contributed by the inhabitants of other provinces. They could not reasonably claim income tax to be distributed entirely on a popu-

lation basis. Certain elements of tax could and should be distributed on a population basis. Such distribution was an important part of the Percy Committee's scheme and they would continue to support distribution as much as possible on the lines of that system. But on the other hand, it was perfectly reasonable for them to claim in any distribution indirect taxation to which Bihar contributed largely. They should receive one-seventh of the total distributed. This would not involve a claim on anything which their population had not already paid in the Central taxation. The Council also adopted a resolution by Mr. S. M. Hafeez by 36 to 28 votes urging that the members of the teaching staff of a college or school should not be summoned as jurors or assessors for such Sessions cases as were likely to last for more than seven days.

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

On February 8th, the Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika, Finance Member, introduced the budget estimates for the year 1933-34. He drew the attention to the fact that the budget of 1932-33 had been balanced at an unprecedentedly low figures and that the task of ensuring that the expenditure was actually kept within the limits prescribed by the budget had been one of great difficulty. These difficulties had been met successfully and he was able to inform the House that the budget of 1932-33 had not only worked, but had actually worked rather better than he had expected. As a result of additional savings which had accrued from strict limitation of expenditure in 1931-32, the opening balance on the 1st of April 1932 was 42½ lakhs, which was 14½ lakhs better than the figure originally anticipated. During the current year the total receipts were expected to be 539 lakhs while the total expenditure was estimated at 529 lakhs. There had been a total improvement of 10 lakhs in the position of the province as the result of the year's working and it was expected that the year 1932-33 would close with a balance of 52½ lakhs of which 31 lakhs would represent the Famine Relief Fund and 14½ lakhs the ordinary balance. He described the circumstances which had contributed to the success of the retrenchment operations. The first essential had been a close control over expenditure and that had been facilitated greatly by the fact that for a number of years great efforts had been made to improve the keeping of accounts by controlling officers and to ensure that actual expenditure should correspond closely with the budget estimated.

Retrenchment

The retrenchment programme which the local Government had adopted had been essentially a practicable one. The Committee which had sat to advise on retrenchments in the preceding year had confined their recommendations to measures which could reasonably be carried out and events had amply justified this policy. Finally, the Finance Member paid a tribute to the loyal manner in which all controlling officers had set themselves to carry out retrenchments and to make their reduce grants go as far as possible. There had been a determination on the part of all concerned that there really should be a saving in expenditure and not mere lip service to the principle of retrenchment.

Proposals for 1933-34

Turning to the budget proposals for 1933-34, he said that the principal heads of revenue had shown a slight tendency to improve since the earlier part of the year. He described the changes which had taken place in the excise legislation. Within a few months of the beginning of the financial year it had become clear that a further heavy fall in excise revenue was likely

owing to the alarming increase in the practice of illicit distillation. To counteract this factor, the auction system had been substituted for the sliding-scale system in order to enlist the co-operation of excise vendors in the prevention of illicit distillation and prices had been reduced in order to meet the reduced purchasing power of the consumers. The total revenue was expected to be 508¾ lakhs and the total receipts 543 lakhs. On the expenditure side though it had been necessary to provide 6¼ lakhs for the cost of preparing the new electoral rolls and holding a general election, expenditure charged to revenue would be 522 lakhs and total expenditure 558¼ lakhs. He therefore anticipated a closing balance on the 31st of March 1934 of 37.34 lakhs. The ordinary balance would be reduced to 43 thousand and the Famine Relief Fund to 28.93 lakhs, the balance representing Road Fund and other subventions. The decision of the Secretary of State to impose a 5 per cent. cut in salaries in 1933-34 had been reached only a few days before and it had been impossible to incorporate the necessary changes in the budget. The cut in pay would yield further savings of about 9 lakhs and allowing for the effect of this factor the closing balance would be 46 lakhs. In general, expenditure was being limited to the low level which it had reached in the current year. In addition important savings were likely to occur owing to re-organizations in the Engineering Departments. One post of Superintending Engineer in the Irrigation Department was being abolished and a number of sections and subdivisions was being amalgamated. The second division of the Public Health Engineering Department was also being abolished and its work distributed among the Roads and Buildings divisions. These changes would save about a lakh of rupees. There were certain matters in which it was no longer possible to hold up expenditure and the budget accordingly provided for grants of 1 lakh and 1½ lakhs respectively to enable progress to be made with the Puri and Bhagalpur water-works schemes.

Adjusted Budget

The Finance Member said that this would probably be the last budget which he would present to the Council. During his five years of office only the first year, 1929-30, had been a year of prosperity. Luck had not been on his side He had had to turn his back on the constructive side of finance and devote himself entirely to the task of weathering the storm. He could not point to any record of large additions to the amounts spent on beneficent services, but he could claim to have faced the situation and, in circumstances which rendered wholly impossible any increase in revenue, to have tackled with success the problem of adjusting expenditure to receipts. The task had been extremely distasteful, but it had to be done. To have come through what he had hoped had been the worst of the economic crisis with a total loss of only 1¼ crores was an achievement which compared favourably with what had been done in other provinces. The cost at which this had been done was only too well-known to the Council. The standards of administration in the beneficent departments which had been reached in 1929, though they represented an advance on those of the half-equipped province which began the era of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, were pitifully below those prevailing in other provinces. Much of that advance had been sacrificed and though none of the major institutions had actually been closed their capacity for doing good work had been crippled. The scale of administration which the present level of expenditure imposed on the province would probably be regarded by their neighbours as impossible even under the present form of Government. Bihar and Orissa had submitted to this as its contribution to the task of helping India to weather the financial storm, but no one should suppose that the province had not suffered very severely in the

process. It had never been supposed that expenditure could be continued indefinitely at the low figure which it reached in 1932-33 or that this represented anything more than a sacrifice which the province could face as a purely temporary measure to meet a great emergency. Having done that, it was necessary to remember the other side of the picture and to realize that continuance of a dangerously low level of expenditure was likely to do irreparable harm to the administration. The plain fact was that without a substantial addition to its revenues Bihar and Orissa could not carry on in a manner which would enable the next Government to function. The Finance Member expressed his gratification at the successful outcome of the long struggle for the recognition of the claims of Orissa and asked the Council to join with him in wishing the new province a smooth and successful career and in hoping that the separation would bring benefits to both provinces.

DISCUSSION

Over 500 Cut Motions

What may be termed a fairly strenuous Session of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, commenced on March 6th with the voting of Budget—demands. There were over 500 motions in the shape of token and larger cuts in respect of different departments.

Forests

Mr. Godavaris Misra, who is a prominent member of the New Opposition Party, set the ball rolling by moving the first cut on the order paper with regard to the demand on the Forests. He wanted to omit the item of Rs. 1,860 for special pay under the demand for forests. His main line of attack was that when officers were put in a particular job, they knew what was required of them and there was no reason that they should not work on the pay stipulated for those jobs. In these days of financial stringency there was no reason whatsoever for allowing special pay to officers.

Mr. Brett, on behalf of the Government defending the policy of the Government said that it was cheaper to pay special pay to officers for extra work done than employing extra men for the purpose. Mr. Hafiz, Mr. Abdul Ghani, participated in the debate. Mr. S. Sinha said that on principle the policy of giving special pay might seem reasonable. But as there was considerable feeling on the subject among the non-official members of the House, he asked the Government to reconsider the matter.

Mr. Prior said that the Provincial Forest Code laid down that if a Forest officer was given a major charge he was entitled to special pay.

After Mr. Godavaris Misra and Mr. Brett had replied to the debate, the motion was put to discussion and lost by 26 to 28.

Unproductive Policy

Mr. Godavaris Misra moved that the demand under the head "Forest" be reduced by 10 and contended that the policy of Government was unproductive. In this connection he further remarked that the Forest Department is working under deficit simply because expenditure is abnormally high and not at all in proportion to the receipt.

Mr. Srikrishan Prashad strongly criticised the Government for formulating the scheme of retrenchment in the dark without taking the Council into confidence or publishing the same for public criticism.

Maulvi Abdul Ghani complained that the graduates of this province, in spite of the promise made by the Government had not been trained in sufficient number for forest service.

Mr. Hafiz maintained that there were more officers than work in the department. He thought that the work of the whole department should be overhauled and expenditure made proportionate to the income.

The Hon'ble Mr J. T Whitty said that in dealing with Forest they could not be guided solely by commercial outlook. Forests could not be made a purely commercial business with regard to receipts, he said that they had not come up to the estimates because of sudden variation and fall in prices. He maintained that a policy of expansion had been very successfully pursued.

Mr. Nanda Kumar Ghose supported the motion on assurance of the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty that the work of the Forest Department during the last 20 years has greatly increased and he was prepared to explain to individual members the scheme as far as he felt he would be justified in doing so, the motion of cut was withdrawn.

The demand of the Stamp by Mr. W. B. Brett was carried.

Land Revenue Demand

Non-officials scored the first victory in the Bihar Council on March 8th by carrying by 45 to 27 votes the cut of Rs. 79,923 under the land revenue demand for Dhalbhum settlement operations.

Mr. Abdul Ghani, who sponsored the cut and other non-official members urged that the hardships of revision of settlement operations would entail upon both landlords and tenants in present economic depression.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Whitty on behalf of Government maintained that the existing record of rights were out of date and needed revision, which would be of great value to all concerned, and the cost of settlement operations would be very small.

Government Defeat

Government suffered another defeat when the Council carried by 48 to 32 votes Mr. Rajandhari Sinha's cut for Rs. 3379 under land revenue, protesting against the revision of settlement operations in Muzaffarpur. The mover, Mr. Dwarkanath and Mr. Chandreshvar Prasad Narayan Sinha contended that revision of settlement operations would entail great hardships on both the landlords and tenants in present economic depression and needed not be undertaken at the present moment

The Hon. Mr. Whitty on behalf of Government explained the advantages of revision of settlement operations, which would give them valuable asset in the form of up-to-date record of rights, which would obviate chances in litigation and conduce peace and amity between the landlords and tenants. Mr. Abdul Ghani and Mahomed Shafi by a token cut under land revenue demand ventilated the grievances of the sugarcane growers in north Bihar. The cut motion was ultimately withdrawn

The Council then voted the reduced grants of Rs. 17,15,539 under land revenue, and also grants of Rs. 38,000 under famine, Rs. 26,74,900 under pensions. Rs. 7,88,083 under stationery and printing, and Rs. 4,20,592 under miscellaneous.

Excise Policy

The excise policy of the Government was criticised by Mr. Godavaris Misra by a token cut motion on March 7th.

Mr. G. E. Owen, Secretary in charge of the Department defending the policy said that they had reverted to the auction system to gain control over a considerable increase in illicit distillation crimes and safe-guard the revenue. Due to illicit distillation the revenue suffered a loss to the extent of

Rs. 66 lakhs and over three thousand persons were convicted in the province of excise offences. The cut being withdrawn the Council voted the whole demand of Rs. 1,492,267 under excise.

By another token cut motion Mr. Abdul Ghani raised the question of location of excise shops, which was withdrawn after Minister's reply.

Mr. Abdul Ghani's motion for a cut for Rs. 2,040 from salary and establishment of the Superintendent, Hiranpur Market, under the Land Revenue demand was rejected after division.

Rai Bahadur Lachmi Prasad Sinha moved omission of the provision for Rs. 11,900 for the Deputy Director of Survey on ground of economy.

Mr. H. C. Prior, Revenue Secretary, maintained that the post was necessary and the officer was doing useful work. The cut was withdrawn.

Council's Claim Ignored

Seldom has the opposition case been so gallantly fought for and ventilated before the Council as was done by Mr. Sinha on March 9th when he moved a token cut in the provision for Executive Council to impress upon the Government the inadvisability of ignoring the claim of the Legislative Council as a whole in the matter of formation of important committees like the Franchise Committee, apart from the nominations of individual members of the Council, to discuss the impropriety of the action of the Governor-in-Council with regard to the recent execution in Purulia Gaol and to discuss the action of the Governor-in-Council with regard to the Rohtas Murder case. Mr. Sinha had to fight every inch of the ground to let the issues that he has raised go home as he was frequently subjected to interruptions and points of order being taken up by the Government side.

The President enforced his ruling that action of the High Court, of the Privy Council, as Judicial Tribunals could not be criticised in this House and members should confine their criticism with regard to the action of Governor-in-Council only.

Mr. Sinha in an effective speech pointed out that in the matter of formation of Important Committees like Franchise Committee, Government ought to have taken into accounts the claims of the Legislative Council as a whole and non-official elements ought to have been adequately represented on it. Secondly he took up the points that on statement made by Must Ali, Government ought to have made proper enquiries before proceeding with the executions of the persons concerned. As regards the Rohtas Murder case he criticised the action of the Government in adopting a novel procedure of exhibiting criminal information for initiation of judicial proceedngs before having the judgment in the previous case vitiated. Thus the procedure adopted by the Government was therefore prejudicial to the accused concerned.

Mr. Sinha was ably supported by Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath, who rightly pointed out that they were not concerned in this House for the guilt or innocence of the accused persons nor with the conduct of the Judicial officers, either in the High Court or Privy Council, but they were concerned in this House only with regard to the actions of the Local Government. He thought that Government could have risen in the Public estimation by staying the executions and making a sifting enquiry on the basis of the statement made by Must Ali. The hasty action of the Government has put them in the wrong box. With regard to the Rohtas Murder case the proceedure adopted by the Government was not a correct one and as such was not calculated to lead to a just decision.

Mr. Radha Prosad Sinha supported the action of the Government in the Rohtas Murder case and said that it was appreciated by the people of the locality.

Mr. N. K. Ghose also pleaded that a proper enquiry ought to have been held before proceeding with the execution in the Purulia case.

Mr. S. M. Hafeez said that the action of the Government in the Rohtas Murder case was justified in starting a Judicial Enquiry in case in which they believed that there was a mis-carriage of justice, that noble effort on the part of the Government of righting a wrong ought to be appreciated. With regard to the Purulia case it was in the interests of the Government to place before the Council the statement of Must Ali to enable them to judge if there was any ground for starting a fresh enquiry. Now that the accused persons were executed, nothing more could be done, but he felt very unhappy over this and he hoped in the future the Government should not be slow in starting an enquiry if the circumstances of a case demanded it. He agreed with the mover that in the matter of appointment of the important committee the Council should be consulted and they should be given an opportunity to send their own representative to such committees.

Mr. Bishnudeo Narayan Singh congratulated the Government on the action of the Government in the Rohtas Murder case as he considered that it was an honest effort on the part of the Government to do justice.

Mr. Davis, the Judicial Secretary on behalf of the Government replied with regard to the Purulia case. He said that the question of exercise of the prerogative of Mercy by the Local Government should not be made a subject of discussion in this House. He maintained that the statement of Must Ali disclosed nothing which warranted enquiries to be made. The accused in the case were convicted of a brutal murder and the sentence was confirmed by the High Court and the action of the Local Government was also approved by the Government of India.

Mr. Tallents, Chief Secretary replying with regard to the other two points said that the Government has no desire to ignore the claims of the Council with regard to the constitution of the Franchise Committee, on which all the interests concerned were represented including the members of the Council. As there was not sufficient time at the disposal of Government I could not actually consult the local Council with regard to the constitution of the Franchise Committee. He maintained that there was nothing unconstitutional or improper about the action of the Executive Government in laying in exhibiting the criminal information before the Highest Judicial Tribunal in the Province when there was a prima-facie case and Government thought its duty to do so to meet the ends of Justice. Mr. Tallents further pointed out that the restatement of the doctor was under consideration and the unexpired portions of the sentences of the accused persons concerned had been remitted.

Mr. Sinha in his final reply congratulated Mr. Tallents on his temperate and sympathetic speech and on his setting an example to other official members to follow. He said that if such sympathetic replies were vouchsafed on behalf of the Government much of the bitterness between the two sides of the House would disappear. He was glad to find that Government had taken a note of the comments of the Privy Council. His attack in these matters was based on the well-established constitutional and Parliamentary principle "Redress before supply" and that object had been achieved.

Mr. Sinha, having thus gained his object of drawing forth assurances from the Government withdrew his cut motion.

Nomination to Local Bodies

Criticism was levelled on March 10th against the policy of the Minister of Local Self-Government regarding nomination to local bodies by a token cut on demand for provisions of Ministers. Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh main-

tained his policy was not based on religious creed or caste but he was guided by the sole consideration of the capacity and efficiency. He could not sacrifice efficiency for community even in matter of honorary service. Nominations were made by him on recommendations of local officers. Discussion was not concluded when the Council adjourned for lunch. Several speakers after lunch supported the Minister's policy. The cut motion was ultimately withdrawn. On the assurance of the Government that if ever it was necessary to call a Franchise Committee into being they would consider claims of representation of particular section or community a cut motion was withdrawn. Another cut motion urging local Government should represent to the proper authorities that Bihar be given proper representation in the future constitutional consultation with the Joint Select Committee, Government assured general sense of the Council be communicated by telegram to the Government of India. The cut motion was withdrawn.

Supplementary Demands Voted

The Council had a short sitting on March 21st, when they voted ten supplementary demands, brought forward by Government, including Rs. 394,766 in respect of Jails and Convict Settlement to meet extra expenditure involved on account of the camp jail owing to increase in the jail population from 10,000 to over 14,000 as a result of combined effect of the revival of civil disobedience movement and protracted economic depression, and Rs. 104,000 in respect of civil works (transferred) for improvement of the Bakhtiarpur-Bihar Road.

Cut Restoration In Primary Education

Several non-official members under a token cut moved by Mr. Srinarayan Mahtha pressed upon the Government the need for restoring the ten per cent. cut in the primary education grant and allotting more funds for the purpose on March 20th.

The Government replied that of the cut amounting to three lakhs in the primary education grant two lakhs had been restored and if more funds were available in future the Government would give sympathetic consideration to the question.

Although the mover wanted to withdraw the motion a division was challenged by other members and the cut was rejected.

The Council then voted the whole demand for education transferred after other token cuts were withdrawn.

Civil Works

Under Civil Works Transferred a token cut moved by Rai Bahadur Shyamnandan Sahay to urge further retrenchments in establishment and criticise the distribution of proceeds of the motor vehicles taxation Act to Municipalities also provided a discussion. After the Government reply the cut was withdrawn.

The Council then voted Civil Works Transferred and Reserved and Miscellaneous Departments grants.

Post of Textile Expert

Mr. Godavaris Misra wanted to axe the post of the textile expert as a measure of economy by moving total omission of the provision for the purpose. The Government pointed out the useful function of the textile expert and showed how the officer had developed the cottage industries in the province. The cut was withdrawn.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

WILD BIRDS PROTECTION BILL

THE Punjab Legislative Council, considered on February 27, a motion for taking into consideration the Punjab Wild Birds and Wild Animals Protection Bill, which seeks to preserve from extinction certain species of Wild fowl and animals at the hands of unscrupulous snarers and shikaris.

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, moving the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Bill, gave the history of the measure, and said that it was necessary to enact the law in order to save indigenous birds of the province from extermination by introducing a system of licences for snarers, netters and hunters for the whole of the year in respect of certain species and part of the year in respect of others. He instanced a case last year in which an advertisement emanating from a neighbouring State had called for ten thousand partridges and since all Native State preserves were well protected the requisite number of birds were apparently supplied from the Punjab.

Motion for Circulation.

Chaudhri Allahdad Khan moved for circulation of the Bill and was supported by Muhammad Din Malik, who maintained that there were large sections of the population who were entirely dependent for their livelihood on catching and killing birds and animals and if their sole livelihood was removed, they would join the ranks of dacoits and robbers.

The motion for circulation was pressed to a division and lost by 44 votes against 2 votes. The Bill was then considered clause by clause.

The Council passed the Bill.

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

The Punjab Legislative Council commenced its budget session on February 25th when the Hon'ble Sir Henry Craik. Finance Member, presented the Budget for 1933-34. The total amount of revenue budgetted for is 1054 lakhs or 45 lakhs better than the revised estimate for the current year. This was made up of Rs. 457 lakhs under land revenue, including Rs. 178 lakhs to be credited to Irrigation, Rs. 422¼ lakhs direct recepts from irrigation, and Rs. 214½ lakhs from excise and stamps. In his budget speech the Finance Member said that the budgetted revenue might be criticised as optimistic, but it was exactly midway between actuals of the Punjab's most prosperous year, namely 1925-26, and the worst in the last decade, namely 1931-32.

Estimated Expenditure

On the expenditure side the estimated expenditure to be met from revenue was Rs. 1,011 lakhs, being excess of Rs. 26½ lakhs over the revised estimate for the year now ending. Of this excess Rs. 22½ lakhs represented restored pay cut and annual increments. Provision had been made on a considerable scale for preparation of new electoral roll in connection with the forthcoming reforms, but no provision was made for actual holding of the first general election as (in the words of the Finance Member) "it was doubtful whether that will fall within the year." Rs. 113 lakhs was earmarked under capital account, more than half of which was required to finish

off the hydroelectric scheme and Rs. 43 lakhs was still due for the work already completed.

Hydro-Electric Project

The Finance Member announced that the Local Government had decided to follow the Government of India and the majority of Local Governments in respect of pay cut, and apply five per cent. cut to all provincial and subordinate services, to which ten per cent. presently applied, accompanied by withdrawal of exemption from surcharge on incometax and supertax, as hitherto. The revenue account for the year ending March, 1933 was expected to close with a balance of Rs. 25 lakhs, and taking all the accounts together the year was expected to close with a balance of Rs. 53½ lakhs.

The Finance Member referred to the Hydro-electric project and said that the total expenditure for this project up to the end of the year was Rs. 5¼ crores, Rs. 69 lakhs having been provided in this connection in the coming year's budget.

As regards retrenchment, Sir Henry said that 65 per cent. of retrenchments proposed by the Retrenchment Committee were given effect to, including Rs. 160 lakhs on the revenue account alone. As for future he appealed for efforts to produce a position of stability which was essential before the introduction of reforms in order to give the new administration a fair chance.

DISCUSSION

General discussion on budget commenced on February 28th when speakers criticised which they described as artificial surplus. It was pointed out that revenue had been estimated as too optimistic a figure and when for last six or seven years the estimated revenue could not fully be realised it was futile to expect to do so in such a bad year when cry was for fifty per cent. remission of land revenue. Furthermore the Government instead of cutting down the expenditure had actually increased it. Zemindar members criticised starvation of beneficent departments for the sake of showing unreal surplus and urged provision should be made for the possibility of bad harvest and for making remissions later in the year.

Famine Policy

Sardar Habibulla initiated the debate on March 5 on the Government's famine policy, by proposing a cut of one rupee under the head "famine." Under this head, the Government provided a total of Rs. 2,00,000 for famine relief, which the mover of the cut characterised as totally inadequate taking into consideration the present condition of the agricultural classes. Urging that more funds should be allocated for this purpose, Mr. Habibulla gave a vivid account of the scarcity in Hissar and Gurgaon districts. He spoke of people who were compelled to sell their daughters in order to be able to live, and of others who were actually dying of hunger.

Land A Rupee A Bigha

Mr. Allah Dad Khan, supporting the cut, said that the farmers of Hissar district were prepared to sell lands at less than one rupee per bigha. He appealed to the Government to bestir themselves in time. Otherwise soon there would be no people in those districts to till the soil, as death and migration were daily depleting their population.

Financial Commissioner's Reply

Mr. Boyd, Financial Commissioner, said that at the request of the district officers, he visited the areas in question and while generally speaking

he did not find conditions were as bad as they were depicted, where real distress prevailed suitable and adequate measures had been taken by the authorities. He denied that officers were either dilatory or afraid to ask for funds and assured the House that Government had always given liberal apportionments for taccavi and famine relief. Apart from what the Government provided towards alleviating the distress, a great deal had been done in the way of preventing famine altogether. After a great amount of labour and expense, a fine network of canals and tributaries had been laid out throughout the district, bringing water within the reach of all. He was confident that the Punjab Irrigation works had banished famine from the province. That was no mean feat, although it had not received the recognition it deserved. Eleven million acres were protected by canals, providing food not only for those within their zone, but also for many areas outside. Many test works had also been undertaken.

Government's Generous Relief

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan pointed out that the Government had given very generous relief hitherto, and if they had made a provision of only Rs. 2,00,000 in the budget, that did not mean that they would not go beyond that figure. That was merely the budget allocation, and if a necessity arose, they could and would draw upon the Famine Relief Fund, wherein they had reserves totalling Rs. 15 lakhs.

In view of the Government's assurance, the "cut" was withdrawn and grant passed *in toto*.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME

The Punjab Council continued on March 8 voting on demands of grants and the Hydro-electric Scheme in charge of Dr. Gokulchand Narang, Minister for Local Self-Government came in for a considerable criticism. Supporting Khan Bahadur Daolatena's cut in the demand for grant of working expenses for the scheme, Chaudhry Chotu Ram, ex-Minister and sponsor of the scheme said considerable capital expenditure was already made in connection with the scheme and now working expenses should be cut down to a minimum. He suggested that the undertaking when completed should be handed over to a private company Other speakers criticised the Government for accepting huge responsibilities when needs of starving agriculturists were not receiving the attention they deserved. Dr. Narang criticised Chaudhury Chottu Ram for joining critics of the scheme and in particular ridiculed the suggestion of handling over the undertaking to a private company. He said when the House had attacked the scheme it was hardly likely that any firm would come forward to accept the offer. As it was no one was ready even to work the Scheme, although Government advertised for the same. The cut was withdrawn and the grant passed. Sardar Joginder Singh's demand under the Buildings and Roads was subject to a similar cut motion but following his assurance to explore every avenue of economy, the motion was withdrawn.

HINDU SUB-JUDGES

Government Defeat

Proposing a cut of one rupee to condemn the meagre representation of the Hindu statutory agriculturists in the cadre of sub-judges, Chowdhury Chotturam complained that for the last six years agriculturist Hindus had not received a single appointment in the Sub-Judges' cadre, although by convention, Hindus as such got fifty per cent of all vacancies. Chowdhury Chotturam, who is the Leader of the national Unionist Party, suggested the appointment of a Committee consisting of an agricultural Hindu, a non-

agricultural Hindu and a Government servant, in order to determine what share of these appointments should go to statutory agricultural Hindus. At present, he said that non-agricultural Hindus not only got a lion's share, but the whole share.

Official Spokesman

Speaking on the cut, the Chief Secretary said that the question of the appointment of Sub-Judges was an extremely complicated and intricate one. At present 50 per cent of the posts went to Muslims, 50 per cent to Hindus. The Government, as such, had very little latitude in these appointments, firstly because all the postings were made on the nomination of the High Court and secondly, the Government were tied down by Section 122 of the Punjab Courts Act, as also by the rules made in this respect. The question would be further complicated if they introduced such classification as Hindu non-zeminders and Hindu zemindars, because that would inevitably lead to further compartments such as, Sikh-zemindars and non-zemindars, Muslim zemindars and non-zemindars, etc. He asked the mover, whether he did not want the system of nomination at all and would be content with open competitive selection. As a matter of fact, the High Court was thoroughly dissatisfied with compartmental selection and would welcome open selection. Since Government could not go outside the High Court nominations and also beyond the rules, there was very little that the Government could do. The Chief Secretary asked for concrete suggestions.

"Do Something for Agricultural Hindus"

Choudhury Chotturam, replying, said that the Government must do something for agricultural Hindus. Otherwise, the result would be entirely to eliminate Hindu zemindars. It was no satisfaction to them if Hindu non zemindars got 50 per cent of the posts. If in open competition, non-agricultural Hindus got posts, he would say that competition alone was not the best criterion of merit. He said that if Section 122 of the Punjab Courts Act came in the way, it should be repealed.

The "cut" was passed despite Government opposition.

Scientific Departments

Several cut motions were discussed on March 18 on the demands for grants for scientific and miscellaneous departments. The Minister for Industries pointed out that since the opening of Hydro-electric scheme would make power easily available and more industries would soon spring up in the Punjab. He emphasised that Government would explore all avenues to discover new markets for products of this province. Two cut motions to emphasise necessity for a progressive policy to popularise Punjab industry were adopted, Government remaining neutral in each case, when the demand for Rs. 11,88,300 for industry was made by Minister Dr. Gokulchand Narang.

Indigenous Exhibitions

On another cut motion urging holding of exhibition in the Punjab for her goods and thereby advertising indigenous products, the Minister pointed out that money was the stumbling block and promised to plead in favour of the proposal before the Finance Department. The Government remaining neutral the motion was carried by a large majority.

WHITE PAPER

On March 28 the White Paper was discussed on the motion of the leader of the House, and eventually the motion was talked out. Due to a technical misunderstanding on the part of the mover, Sardar Habibullah's

substantive amendment, expressing disappointment at the proposals and at the absence of a promise of dominion status, though put from the chair, was eventually ruled out, Government objecting. It was urged that due to the President's ruling the members opposed to the resolution had no opportunity to speak on Sardar Habibullah's motion.

Raja Narendranath on behalf of the Hindus and Sardar Ujjal Singh on behalf of the Sikhs made statements declining to express any opinion on the Paper. Raja Narendranath declared that the attitude of the Hindus was one of resentful indifference in view of the invidious treatment meted out to the Hindus and Sikhs."

The majority of Muslim speakers thought that the proposals did not go far enough and appealed for more harmony among the communities, the absence of which, they declared, was the root cause of such unsatisfactory proposals.

LAND REVENUE

A zemindar member pressed for a substantial relief of water rates and land revenue on March 21, Choudhuri Nazir Hussain's resolution for the appointment of a committee to report upon best means of readjusting existing water rates to present prices of agricultural produce was opposed by the Government though they offered to accept it in a modified form. The resolution was put to vote and passed.

Keen debate followed Mian Noorullah's resolution recommending fifty per cent. remission of Rabi for 1933. Government offered to accept the resolution if words "if necessary" were added to the resolution. The resolution in an amended form was passed by a majority. Defending the Government action maintaining punitive police in certain villages in Ambala District, the Finance Member said villagers consistently harboured two most desperate dacoits, one of whom was responsible for eleven murders and when one of them was being tried zemindars contributed Rs. 125 each for defence.

REVENUE AND EXCISE DEMANDS

The Council concluded on March 21 voting on demands for grants, and the guillotine falling at 5 p.m. revenue, excise and forest demands were automatically sanctioned. Keen debates were raised on cut motions in respect of the appointment of Public Services Commission and high water rates, low water supply and the Sutlej Valley Project. Government agreed to hold in abeyance the appointment of the Services Commission and as regards irrigation and water supply assured that when the scheme reached a further stage of maturity, all complaints would disappear.

The cut motion to dispense with the services of the Chief Engineer of the Sutlej Valley Project was pressed to a division and lost, 23 voting against and 4 for the motion.

INTERPELLATIONS

Political Prisoner Sukhdevraj

Replying to questions Sir Henry Craik, Finance Member, said on March 21, that Sukhdevraj, accused in the supplementary conspiracy case, who was convicted under the Arms Act, was recommended by the convicting Magistrate "B" class, but the later enquiries showed that he was not accustomed to a standard of living higher than other "C" class prisoners. The Magistrate's recommendation was made without being in full possession of information, hence Government turned down the Magistrate's recommendation. He further informed that Government were not prepared to reconsider the matter.

C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

THE January Session of the Central Provinces Legislative Council opened on January 19.

NEW CONSTITUTION

Referring to the new constitution, His Excellency said: "It has been the endeavour of my colleagues and myself to so order matters that the coming Constitution may not be hampered in its operation by an unfortunate financial legacy." The Governor apprehended that in spite of the drastic economies, they had now to choose between closing the existing nation-building activities and finding fresh sources of income.

Adjournment Motion

Moving on January 19 the adjournment motion on the failure of the Government to appoint a court of enquiry under the Trades Disputes Act, regarding the reinstatement of the 215 Model Mill workers, and the non-recognition of the Nagpur Textile Union, Mr. R. W. Fulay said he moved the resolution for two reasons. He wanted to avoid the serious catastrophe of seventy workers offering satyagraha.

Official Reply

The Government point was summed up by the Revenue Member, Mr. Gowan, who said that no Government would tolerate the will of a single individual to prevail by reason of the fast. Section 3 of the Trades Disputes Act was applicable in the case of a genuine dispute between the management and the workers, and not in the case of lawful dismissal of some workers.

The motion was lost by 29 against 20 votes.

Second Chamber

On January 20, Rai Sahib Dadu Dwarkanath Singh moved: "This Council desires to record its opinion, that in the new constitution for this Province there should be provision for a Second Chamber."

The mover, who had two supporters, referred to the advantages of a bicameral legislature for the smooth working of legislative business. He stressed particularly that, in the event of the Congress capturing the Lower House, with a view to wrecking the constitution, the Upper House, filled with experienced and sober people would save the constitution from the autocracy of the Government and the "mobocracy of the Congress."

Government Position

The Home Member, stating the Government's position, read the Government Despatch, and stated that a second chamber was unnecessary as sufficient material was not available and it would be expensive. He stated that the Government members would refrain from voting and participating in the discussion of the issue but that the Ministers would have free choice.

PUBLIC PLACES USER BILL

The Public Places User Bill, moved by Mr. G. A. Gavai (Nominated-Depressed Classes), was passed on January 21 after much debate. The Bill extends to the whole of the Central Provinces and lays down that no public place should be closed for use to any person by reason of his caste or creed and that a public place includes a road, school, market, garden, sarai, rest-

house, ghat, water-standard, burial and burning ground, river, tank, and well, vested, owned, constructed and maintained by the Local Government. The penalty clause provides a fine extending to Rs. 50 for obstruction.

MONEY LENDERS BILL

Mr. P. R. W. Fulay's motion for referring the Central Provinces Money Lenders Bill of 1931 to a select committee was defeated. The Bill was intended to protect unsophisticated and illiterate people from the hands of dishonest and unscrupulous money lenders.

LEGAL PRACTITIONERS ACT

Mr. T. J. Kedar moved that the Bill to amend Clause F, Section 13 of the Legal Practitioners Act be referred to a select committee. The mover contended that, though for professional purposes a legal practitioner was justly regarded as an officer of the court, the rule could not be extended to the sphere of activities outside the profession. The recent full bench decision (27 Nagpur, L. R. 29) necessitated this amendment, as punishment of practitioners for non-professional activities should not rest on judicial interpretation of the vague clause of the sub-section.

Official Opposition

The Government opposed the Bill, the Home Member submitting a statement that the Judicial Commissioners and the District Judges were unanimously against the proposed changes, as it might take away the inherent powers and weaken the jurisdiction of the High Courts.

The motion was passed 30 voting for and 29 against.

REDUCTION OF DUTY ON COUNTRY-LIQUOR

The adjournment motion by Mr. K. P. Pande, to discuss an urgent matter of public importance, namely, the action of the Minister of Excise in reducing the duty on country liquor disagreed with the policy laid by the Council, was taken up on January 23rd.

The mover said that the Hon'ble Minister had supported the motion passed by the Council in 1921 which set forth a policy of Prohibition and stopping of the distillation of country liquor throughout the province in as short a period as possible. Now the same Minister, he said, had reduced the duty on country-liquor by 20 per cent, and increased the number of shops without giving notice to the Council.

Official Statement

The Finance Secretary gave figures pointing out the rise in the number of convictions for illicit distillation from 1,405 in 1927, to 3,775 in 1932, due to the policy of increasing the duty.

Non-Official Opposition

Non-official members, who opposed the motion, said that the motion, if passed, would mean a vote of " no-confidence " in the Ministers. A change of Ministers at this juncture, when constitutional changes were impending would not serve the best interests of the country.

FUTURE OF BERAR

At a discussion on the separation of Berar on January 24. Mr. K. P. Pande's amendment, recommending to the Government, to take the necessary steps to constitute Berar into a separate province with a view to

securing for it legislative and financial autonomy and entry into the coming Indian Federation as a unit, was carried 30 voting for and 17 against.

DEBT CONCILIATION BILL

C. P. Debt Conciliation Bill, the object of which is to relieve the poor agriculturist of indebtedness, was passed without a division on January 26. The Bill empowers the Local Government to form a conciliation board to which debtors and creditors could apply for settlement, the decision of the board being binding as the decree of a court. Rs. 25,000 has been fixed as the limit of the debts to be considered by the Board.

FUND ACCOUNTS BILL

The Central Provinces Local Fund Audit Bill, which seeks to make better provision to regulate audit by Government auditors of local funds under the management and control of local bodies, was taken up on January 26.

Mr. C. B. Parakh objected to the introduction of the Bill, as it fixed responsibility and liability on the chairman of the local bodies and not on salaried officers for accounts.

The Revenue Member pointed out that the Bill was drafted in response to public demand, in accordance with the provisions of the Bombay Act on the same matter.

On a division, the Government won; 26 voting for and 3 against.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AMENDMENT BILL

This Bill seeking to lay down electoral rules and qualifications of voters, and providing for control by the Local Government in the matter of appointments, and penalising contractual relationship between local bodies and their officers, was passed on January 27.

An amendment seeking the deletion of the Clause, empowering Commissioners to fill a vacancy and the exemption of local bodies from the payment of expenses in connection with the notification of elections, etc., was unsuccessful.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

The following non-official Bills were taken up in the same date :—

The C. P. Courts Amendment Bill, raising the pecuniary jurisdiction of the Small Causes Courts to Rs. 500 in accordance with the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee, was passed.

The Village Sanitation Public Management Bill, making minor changes in the assessment rules, was passed.

The Primary Education Amendment Bill, making the levy of fees in primary schools in compulsory areas illegal, was referred to a select committee.

A Bill to amend the C. P. Municipalities Act for dealing with cases of non-payment of taxes by members and office-bearers of Municipal Committees, was circulated for eliciting public opinion.

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

Mr. H. Gowan, Revenue Member, presented in the C. P. Council on February 27 the budget estimates for 1933-34 which showed a revenue of 463·83 lakhs and an expenditure of 459·32 lakhs resulting in a revenue surplus of 4·51 lakhs. Owing to late receipt of orders with regard to restoration of the 5 per cent. cut the salaries of Government servants could not be taken into account. The restoration involves an additional expenditure of 6·64

lakhs which will result in the revenue surplus of 4·51 lakhs being converted into a deficit of 2·13 lakhs.

Revenue

The current year's revenue was estimated at 492·88 lakhs but this figure fell to 453·12 lakhs the decrease being 39·76 lakhs. The fall occurred in almost all the principal heads of revenue, the amounts being 19·48 lakhs in land revenue, 7·50 lakhs in excise, 71 thousands in stamps and 6·03 lakhs in forest. There was also a fall of 2·51 lakhs in interest receipts on advances to cultivators. The fall in the revenue was practically counterbalanced by the reduction of expenditure from 488·67 to 454·16 lakhs. The reduction resulted from savings on account of the retrenchment measures adopted.

The revised estimated expenditure for the current year shows a net revenue deficit of 1·05 lakhs while the closing balance of the year is estimated at 2·54 lakhs. The main cause of the difference was that the capital borrowed for irrigation construction was underspent to the extent of 2·84 lakhs.

Savings

The major portion of the savings was contributed by various departments of the Government namely forest 1·92 lakhs, general administration 1·30 lakhs, justice 1·04 lakhs, education 1·37 lakhs, civil works 5·13 lakhs and stationery and printing 1·19 lakhs. The reduction by 22·28 lakhs of the amount provided in the budget for repayment of loans covering the withdrawal of balances of the last two years makes up the remainder of the savings.

Revenue Increase Without Fresh Taxation

Of the total revenue expected to be raised without resorting to an increase in existing taxation of 463·83 lakhs in the ensuing year which is 10·71 lakhs in excess of the revised estimate of revenue for the current year, the land revenue budgetted including suspended and unsuspended arrears is 243·33 lakhs, excise 57·50, stamps 56·55 and forests 45·65 lakhs the latter two being slightly higher than the current year.

Estimated Expenditure

The estimated expenditure of 459·32 lakhs includes 3 lakhs for printing charges of electoral rolls of the enlarged electorate under the new constitution, Rs. 92,000 for forests and 1·20 lakhs for closing the distillery at Akola. If these sums were omitted, the Member added, expenditure proposed would be practically the same as the revised estimates for the current year. The Famine Relief Fund for the current year opened with a balance of 45·08 lakhs just above the prescribed minimum and is expected to close with 46·06 lakhs. The balance at the close of the ensuing year is estimated at 45·28 lakhs.

DISCUSSION

A dozen non-officials participated in general discussion of the budget on February 28. Principal line of argument was that land revenue was overestimated and not likely to be realised and salaries of various services should be reduced.

Official Reply

Mr. P. S. Deshmukh, Minister for Education, replying to general criticism admitted his department suffered for want of money and suggested curtailment of expenditure on account of schools and colleges for the benefit of primary education but the reform should be gradual and not revolutionary.

The Revenue Member said estimates were based on normal years. There was no reason that monsoon would fail twice again. Government believed present standard of administration was sound and re-organisation unnecessary. Government hoped for a surplus in coming years.

CUT IN MINISTER'S SALARY DEFEATED

Mr. M. P. Kolhe moving a cut motion on March 1 on Ministers' salaries and travelling allowances said the Minister for Excise changed the policy of prohibition enunciated by the Council reducing the duty and increasing the number of shops. He emphasised that grants of private educational institutions should have been restored '*pari passu*' restoration of five per cent salary cut.

Government Regret

Mr. P. S. Deshmukh, Minister for Education, regretted financial difficulties and hence was not able to restore educational grants.

Mr. G. P. Jaiswal, Minister for Self-Government and Excise, quoted concrete instances showing the work done and said that the allegation of number of shops being increased was baseless. The cut motion was defeated without a division.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN JAILS

Mr. M. P. Kolhe's motion of a token cut on March 3 on the demand of administration and justice that the Government should consider the question of Sanadas to pleaders who have been suspended from practising in courts was carried by 28 votes to 22. The mover contended that cvil disobedience prisoners suffered punishments in fine and imprisonment and should not be liable to further punishment in the shape of suspension.

Government Reply

The Home Member stated the question was entirely within the competence of the Judicial Department. which Government did not desire to interfere.

Jail Grants

Mr. R. A. Kantikar moved a token cut on the Home Member's demand on the grants of jails and convicts settlements. He described the policy of the treatment of political prisoners in jails including restriction of visits. The mover stressing the difference of treatment of civil disobedience prisoners and ordinary prisoners demanded different treatment.

Mr. R. W. Fulay pointed out Government had already appointed a Committee of enquiry to deal with necessary alternation in jail rules to such prisoners

NON-INDIANISATION OF SUPERIOR POSTS

By 30 votes to 29, the Legislative Council carried on March 6 a token "cut" of one rupee moved by Mr. Parakh protesting against the non-Indianisation of the superior posts and for not carrying out the mandate of the Council in the Budget session of 1931. Mr. Parakh pointed out that since 1923, several Europeans had been recruited. The present proportion of Europeans to Indians was 38 to 14. If the Government proceeded at the present pace, it would take eight years to reach the ratio laid down the Royal Commission.

Government Opposition

Mr. Gordon, Chief Secretary, opposing the cut, said that the Provincial Government were not responsible for the recruitment. This was done by

the Secretary of State but the Local Government were satisfied that the Lee Commission's recommendations were being scrupulously carried out.

Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Home Member, stated that the claims of Indians to superior posts would be considered when vacancies arose. But it would not be possible to ignore the claims of senior European officials.

The motion, when pressed to a division, was carried. The Democrats voted against the motion.

WHITE PAPER

After the cut motion of Mr. S. M. Rahaman was withdrawn on March 8, on the statement of the Revenue Member that to talk of further reduction in the personnel of the Indian Medical Service was useless, the President of the Council informed the House that a petition signed by 25 members was submitted to him for the purpose of forwarding it to the Governor. The petition requested to convene a special session of the Council soon after the publication of the White Paper to put views on it so that they might be considered by the Joint Parliamentary Committee which the President agreed to forward. Time limit fixed by the Governor for the consideration of demands being reached, the President ruled outstanding demands be disposed of, which put to vote was carried without a cut.

ADJOURNMENT ON BERAR QUESTION DISALLOWED

Mr. Chaubal, Whip of the Democratic Party, moved the adjournment motion on March 7 to discuss the position of Berar in the future constitution of India in view of the recent statement of the Secretary of State and the resolution of the All Parties Committee of Berar. The President remarked that a good deal of discussion took place last session on the subject.

Mr. S. R. Rahaman, pointed out Berar being a foreign territory this House could not discuss the subject.

Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Home Member, said the matter was not urgent and touched delicate relations of the Crown and the Nizam. It offended rules of the legislature. The President agreed with the Home Member and refused permission to move the motion.

ALLEGED JAIL ILL-TREATMENT

Government Resolution

A resolution of the Government was published on March 1 giving details of the enquiry of the alleged ill-treatment of civil disobedience prisoners in Amraoti Jail in April 1932. The resolution points out a steady and increasing disregard of discipline by civil disobedience prisoners, disobeying orders and not performing the allotted task and shouting slogans. The Government believe the account of the jail authorities regarding incident on the night of April 21 when prisoners on refusing a good meal were locked for the night. On April 22 it was found that water was supplied outside the barracks and prisoners were ordered to come in pairs which they refused. Allegations of general beating by the warders on the 22nd morning were grossly exaggerated and some prisoners received passing blows in an endeavour to restore order and force beyond necessary was not used. The allegation of medical aid being denied and prisoners unsconscious was baseless. Averring that the Superintendent acted in good faith throughout, the resolution adds, that according to the Jail Manual he ought to have consulted the District Magistrate and promised an enquiry into allegations of beating by the subordinates. The resolution states Government has appointed a small committee of experienced officers to examine the necessary alterations of jail rules and regulations applying to such prisoners.

Prisoner on Hunger-Strike

During question time, the Chief Secretary informed the House on March 7 that Seth Poonam Chand (B class prisoner) in Seoni Jail had gone on hunger-strike since March 4.

Central Provinces and Berar

Replying to a question of Mr. S. M. Rahaman, the Chief Secretary stated on January 20 that the allocation between the Central Provinces and Berar of the fourteen seats for Mahomedans in the Council, had not yet been decided on by the Government and that the representation of Berar Muslims on the subject had been noted.

C. D. Prisoners

To a question by Seth Thakurdas Goverdhandas, the Chief Secretary said that there were 311 Civil Disobedience prisoners in the province on 1st January and that the Government did not propose to release them at present.

U. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

PROGRAMME OF BUSINESS

THE Legislative Council began its session on 15th February, the programme of business included a resolution urging the entire stoppage of exodus to the hills during the current year owing to financial stringency. Mr. Choudhury Baldeva, a member of the Depressed Classes tabled a resolution urging the grant of amnesty to all political prisoners in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the introduction of the new constitution. Mr. Brijnandan Lal moved that early steps should be taken for the amalgamation of the two highest courts of judiciary in the United Provinces. By another resolution Mrs. Kailash Srivastava moved that necessary steps be taken to make primary education compulsory for girls in areas where there is already compulsory education for boys.

GIRLS' EDUCATION

On February 17th Mrs. Kailash Srivastava, wife of the Minister for Education, moved:

"This Council recommends to the Government to take the necessary steps to make primary education compulsory for girls in the areas where there is already compulsory education for boys."

Mrs. Srivastava said that she was not actuated by a spirit of jealousy, but her aim was to put up an earnest fight against illiteracy. The education of mothers was a condition precedent to that of children, and she hoped the Government would not only extend sympathy to her motion, but give tangible proofs of it

Difficulties

The Minister for Education, who followed, gave a resume of the activities of the Government in furthering the expansion of female education. He described the difficulties the Government had to contend against chiefly because of time-honoured customs and the purdah system. He was prepared to accept the resolution in so far as to invite the suggestions of local bodies, and by the time these were received he hoped the financial situation would improve, which would facilitate compliance with the wishes of the mover.

The resolution was put and adopted *nem con.*

EXCISE REVENUE

With Sir Sita Ram in the chair, the debate was resumed on February 20th upon the resolution moved by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani at the Naini Tal session last year, asking the Government not to reintroduce the auction system of disposal of excise licenses for the sale of country spirit in open bottles, and to implement their repeated declarations of policy and to subordinate considerations of revenue to the promotion of temperance, by adherence to the policy contained in the resolution on the Pim Committee Report

Government Policy

The Minister of excise, Mr. P. Srivastava, said that the policy of the Government in this regard was the same as that enunciated by Mr. Chintamani as Minister, who had not himself accepted total abstinence during his

tenure of office. The speaker was loyal and faithful to his worthy predecessor, in the matter of that policy. All that had been done was to change the system, but he refuted the allegations that the change had been introduced surreptitiously. He characterised the surcharge system as irrational. Under it, much needed revenue had been unnecessarily sacrificed, and he added that the auction system had reduced the total consumption by cutting out illicit supply and that thereby it promoted the cause of temperance. It had resulted in a definite increase of revenue without doing harm to the cause of temperance. He asked the House not to be led away by the comparatively harmless appearance of the resolution which, in fact was one of far-reaching character.

Total Prohibition Not A Goal

After all, the Minister added, total Prohibition was not the goal of the Government, but the minimum of consumption with the maximum of revenue. With that object in view, he pointed out, almost all other provinces in India had gone back to the auction system. The Minister reminded the Moslem members of the House that there was no religious principle involved in the resolution inasmuch as Islam prohibited the drink habit altogether. By voting for the resolution, therefore, they would be doing nothing in accordance with the dictates of their religion, but by voting against it they would be promoting sobriety among people.

Revenue Versus Temperance

Mr. Chintamani replying to the debate, referred to what he had said in moving resolution in June 1932, and examined in detail the points raised by the Minister. He repudiated the suggestion that the Excise policy, he followed as Minister, was minimum consumption with maximum of revenue, and maintained, instead, that the policy of the Government then was subordination of consideration of revenue to the promotion of temperance. He showed how the auction system was engendering larger consumption through questionable means, and stated it was with a view to combating the evil, that the surcharge system was adopted.

Yes And No

The first and fourth parts of the resolution of Mr. Chintamani were negatived after a division, while the second and third were carried, there being no dissentient. The latter two parts requested the Government not to increase the number of shops of opium drugs and spirits (country and foreign), except where there might be a pronounced public demand therefor, and to deal with the evil of illicit distillation by vigorous administrative action.

DISTRICT BOARD ELECTIONS

On February 27th, the president, Sir Sita Ram, disallowed the motion of Kunwar Jagbhan Singh seeking to discuss certain methods alleged to have been adopted in connection with the Hamirpur District Board elections on February 17 and 18. It was stated by Mr. Singh that one of the charges was that there had been open canvassing by the subordinate staff.

The Minister, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, said that he would ask for a report and if any action was called for the matter would be looked into.

The President agreed with Mr. Singh that it was vital question concerning franchise, but felt that there was no urgency about it and that it could wait for some time,

COURT FEES AMENDMENT BILL

On the motion of the Finance Member the Council passed the United Provinces Court Fees Amendment Bill levying a fee of one hundred rupees on Municipal and District Board election petitions in place of the existing figures of one rupee and eight annas and twelve annas respectively.

According to the statement of objects and reasons regard being had to the importance of these petitions and the cost to which the Government were put in arranging for their trial the present rates were obviously inadequate.

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

Four Lakhs Surplus

The Finance Member presented the budget estimating revenue of Rs. 1,150¾ lakhs and expenditure Rs. 1,146¾ lakhs for the year 1933-34 on February 27th. Under debt heads so far as provincial resources are concerned he estimated receipts of Rs. 49¼ lakhs and charges Rs. 31¼ lakhs. The total surplus therefore is estimated at Rs. 22 lakhs. He reminded the House that during the past three years they had deficits of Rs. 87¾, Rs. 73½ and Rs. 10 lakhs respectively and thus after a bad triennium equilibrium has been regained this year with a little surplus to spare

Referring to the causes of deficits in previous years the Finance Member said that one cause, namely, the fall in price levels, still persists and announced remission of Rs. 113 lakhs of land revenue next year.

The Finance Member concluding said he hoped that the tide of misfortune was beginning to turn and by the time the new constitution came into force it would have ebbed and the ship of State would one more be sailing in the sea of prosperity.

Demands Under Education

The entire demand under Education for Rs. 1,90,52,769 minus two cuts aggregating eleven rupees was voted on March 9th. Several other cuts were moved but were either withdrawn or negatived. Discussion of a motion to reduce grants to non-Government schools and local bodies in connection with primary education was in progress when the guillotine was applied. The mover Kunwar Surendra Pratap Sah said the issue before the House was that powers that had been taken away from the Board of Vernacular Education might be restored and there would be sufficient non-official representation on the Text Book Committees. He complained of certain works written by Mr. MacKenzie, Director of Public Instruction were still being sold as text books without the name of the author and suggested that task should be given to hundred of unemployed, to whom it would be of great help. Mr. MacKenzie in course of a vigorous reply said he had ceased to take any interest in text books immediately on his appointment as the Director of Public Instruction and had informed publishers accordingly. He, however, made a free gift of works to them on condition his name must not appear as the author, reasons being obvious.

ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT

SJ. Jogendra Nath Gohain, B. L., M. L. C., of Sibsagar tabled the following resolution on February 25th.

"That this Council recommends to the Government of Assam for forming a small committee consisting of the following members of this Council with the Hon'ble President as the Chairman of the said Committee, for solving the problem of unemployment among the indigenous middle class people of Assam. The members of the Committee shall be as follows:—

(1) Two Hon'ble Members of the Executive Council.

(2) Two Hon'ble Ministers.

(3) Two Hindu and 2 Mahomedan Hon'ble Members of the Council from each of the Valleys, of this province respectively. (These Hon'ble Members should be appointed by the Council by election).

(4) One Hon'ble Member of this Council from the planting Community. (This Hon'ble Member should be appointed by the Council by election)."

The main object of Sj. Gohain's resolution was to see if any help this Committee can give to the public and Government as well in finding out means and ways for solving the problem of unemployment among the middle class people of Assam.

Assam Government are giving employments to competent unemployed educated youths of Assam as far as possible, but there are still innumerable educated people in Assam who are yet unemployed. So, the opinion of the public of Assam as to the schemes which this committee should take up for consideration, is invited by Sj. Gohain so that he can place them before the Council at the time of discussion of his resolution. The members of the public may send their opinions to any Hon'ble Member of the Council they like, so that he can express the public opinion in his speech at the time of discussion of the above resolution.

Regarding this question of unemployment in Assam the attention of the Government of India is drawn to the fact that very few educated people of this province of Assam have got suitable employments in the Railway Companies and Steam Navigation Companies having traffic in Assam. The Public of Assam will be simply grateful to the Government of India, if they be pleased to direct the Railway Companies and Steam Navigation Companies having traffic in Assam, to employ a sufficient number of the educated youths of Assam in their service, as one of the measures for solving the problem of unemployment among the educated middle class people of Assam.

Further, it has been reported that adequate number of educated youths of Assam have not been able to get appointments in the Postal and Telegraph departments though there are suitable and a great number of indigenous educated people of Assam who are yet unemployed. If it is a fact, the Government of India should issue instruction to the authorities concerned to appoint an adequate number of our educated and unemployed youths to meet the just claims of the people of Assam.

OPIUM AMENDMENT BILL

The Assam Opium Amendment Bill of 1932 amending certain provisions relating to punishment which at present was lenient and also certain

sections of the act considered to be defective as hampering the powers of preventive officers unduly was passed on March 6th. The Excise Amendment Bill of 1932 was also passed amending the penalty sections of the E. B. and A. Act I of 1910 as being too lenient.

ASSAM GOVERNOR'S SPEECH

His Excellency the Governor addressed the Assam Legislative Council, the budget session of which opened on March 6th with Hon'ble Maulvi Faiznaur Ali, President in the chair.

Political Situation

His Excellency made a comprehensive survey of the political and economic situation in the province. In course of the speech the Governor said that it might be the last time that he should open a budget session in the present constitution but for himself he was inclined to think that they should have one more budget session before the old order changed for ever. His Excellency referred with pleasure to freedom of province from lawless movements and disorder and said his government had not found it necessary as elsewhere to bring any special legislation or ask for any special powers for this province.

Proceeding His Excellency touched on finance and said that they feared at one time that they should close the year 1932-33 with deficit balance of 37 lakhs. Receipts having slightly improved and with rigid economy the closing deficit would not be more than 16 lakhs. Inspite of their efforts budget for 1933-34 anticipated deficit of some 30 lakhs. The Governor emphasised that Transferred Departments would not suffer as opposed to Reserved, because of zealous watchfulness of the Legislative Council. Their financial position was most decidedly unsatisfactory. Lately he represented to Sir George Schuster over some matters and he had realised that in financial arrangements for new constitution Assam will have to receive special consideration as on the 1st of April this year they shall be indebted to the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 39 lakhs for overdrafts in past three years and Rs. 56 lakhs for communication loans. After referring to the extensive tour the Governor had undertaken His Excellency said a federated dominion of India was in making but they had grounds of complaint now against cavalier treatment of some great Central Departments like Posts and Telegraphs and Railways and they did not see eye to eye with Central Government in regard to questions of taxation like Excise duties and in future the province that will be strong and can best safeguard her own interests will carry most weight in counsels of federation and appealed in this connection for unity, solidarity and strength.

Population Increase

The Governor next dwelt on the population of Assam and said that in a period of little more than one generation Assam has increased her population by 50 per cent. in 30 years from 6 millions to 9 millions which was a startling fact and the province has been raised from a minor undeveloped province into the position of a major province without destroying her culture and language. His Excellency announced the council will be invited to appoint a non-official committee to review the present opium policy and in this connection he remarked that the policy was aided temporarily by intensive campaign of propaganda conducted by non-co-operation adherents. In this respect whatever may have been the motives of non-co-operators he was ready to extend his sincere appreciation to results of their efforts. With dying out of non-co-operation, propaganda unfortunately ceased.

Finally His Excellency dealt with malaria and also remarkable work of Col. Morrison of Pasteur Institute who is dealing with cholera and dysentery.

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

Deficit Of 30 Lakhs

The Hon. Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulla, Finance Member, presented the budget for 1933-34 on March 6th and regretted that for the third time he had to present a deficit budget. The deficit is estimated at Rs. 30 lakhs.

The Finance Member, in the course of his speech, said:—

"Again, we start with a distressing deficit balance, a dead-weight of debts to the Provincial Loans Fund with a Central Government, consisting of the accumulated total of Rs. 39 lakhs on account of Provincial overdrafts and Rs. 56 lakhs on account of communications, the two Road Board programmes. We expect to collect only Rs. 2,07,35,000 under revenue heads, and less than 7 lakhs under capital revenue viz., recoveries of loans and advances made by this Government. There is also the item of Rs. 1,80,000 as the provincial subvention from Central Road Development account. Our expenditure figures stand at Rs. 2,41,88,000 under expenditure charged to revenue and some 6½ lakhs on expenditure not charged to revenue. The province will, therefore, according to the estimates be run on a deficit of Rs. 30 lakhs."

The drop in revenue is spread over taxes on income, land, excise, stamps, forests and registration.

Unhealthy Condition

Referring in an earlier part of his speech to the estimates for 1930-31 the Finance Member said:—

"The extreme nature of our unhealthy financial condition can at once be appreciated when I say that the budget estimate for 1930-31 anticipated no less than a sum of Rs. 2,87,85,000 from receipts from revenue heads whereas we are estimating next year from the same sources an income of only Rs. 2,07,35,000 or a drop of 80½ lakhs."

Sir Syed Muhammad said that in spite of its vigorous retrenchment campaign the Government had not been able to make both ends meet.

Taking a retrospective view of the position since the new order of things was created in 1921, the Finance Member said:—"Assam which is nearly as big as Bengal in extent has a population of 9 millions against 51 millions of Bengal. Assam is the least developed of Governor's provinces, to quote the language of the Simon Commission, with very little of public amenities and administrative conveniences of a civilized Government without a High Court or a judicial service of her own with only two undeveloped Arts Colleges, without a University, without any adequate and up-to-date hospital, yet Assam had to pay annually to the central exchequer a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs for six years and Rs. 7 lakhs for another year."

The Finance Member pleaded for a more generous treatment from the Central Government in view of her position as the Eastern Frontier of the Indian Empire. While the North-West Frontier Province receives a subvention of over a crore annually Assam received only Rs. 16 lakhs annually towards the cost of the maintenance of the Assam Rifles, the militia guarding the Eastern Frontier while she was made to pay an average of about Rs. 4 lakhs towards the cost of these forces.

Unjust Treatment

Mr. E. Stuart Roffey in opening the budget debate on March 8th pointed out that for the third year in succession a deficit budget had been pre-

sented due entirely to unjust treatment to which the Central Government had subjected the province for many years in connection with the Meston Settlement, export duty on tea. assessment of tea profits to income tax, defence of North-East Frontier, administration of the hill tracts and finally excise duty paid by the Assam Oil Company. This duty amounted in 1932 to 1·23 lakhs or sixty per cent of the estimated total receipts under revenue heads for 1933-34 and that it was in consequence of this duty that the Finance Member of the Government of India had restored to services throughout India five per cent of salary cut, and left Assam insolvent.

Tea Industry Crisis

He pointed out the critical condition of the tea industry, and mentioned the restriction scheme which, it was hoped, Government of India would shortly sanction. He also pointed out that the cessation of every original scheme of improvement, closure of the second Road Board Scheme, reduction in local board grants and rapid deterioration of the province were eitirely due to Government of India taking the whole of excise duty paid by the Assam Oil Company. He then referred to the Percy Finance Committee report, which stated that Assam would be a deficit province and recommended its special treatment, and regretted that notwithstanding this fact no reference had been made to Assam in last Round Table Conference report, although Bengal had been recommended refund of jute duty. He pointed out that the omission of Assams's name in the report was due to their non-representation at the Round Table Conference, and therefore, insisted that Assam officials should be witnesses before the Select Committee as well as the enquiry to be instituted in connection with subvention from the Central Government to deficit provinces. Finally he dealt with the unfair basis on which provincial grants were made from the petrol tax fund, and pressed for a larger share of duty to all provinces.

MUNICIPAL BILL

Maulvi Abdul Khaleque Chowdhury moved on March 10th that the Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill 1932 be taken into consideration and the Bill be passed.

The Hon'ble Minister, Local Self-Government in opposing the motion said that the Bill be first circulated for eliciting public opinion.

Rai Bahadur N. N. Chowdhury pointed out that the house is sick of plethora of amendments on the self-same Bill and it is high time that whole thing should be revised and a new Bill be introduced in its stead.

The House voted for the amendment of the Hon'ble Minister.

EXCISE DUTIES

Next Maulvi Munwar Ali moved his resolution which stated that the Assam Government should move proper authorities to allot the entire income derived from the Excise Duties of mineral oils produced within the borders of Assam. He maintained that "I am surely voicing the feelings of the entire population of Assam. Committees after Committees have set-up since the Meston Award but Assam is still left in cold. Sixty-five lakhs of annual deficit as is declared by the Federal Finance Committee is really a serious matter and all possible avenues must be explored for the retention of the duties for the financial equilibrium of the province."

The resolution commanded emphatic support of the members from every corner of the House including Hon'ble Maulvi Abdul Hamid.

The motion was carried without a division.

N. W. FRONTIER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

BUDGET FOR 1933-34

THE reduction of police expenditure by half a lakh and a fresh expenditure of 1½ lakhs for expansion of beneficent activities in addition to Rs. 30,000 spent during the current year on water supply schemes are the two salient features of the N. W. F. P. Budget, embodying the first forecast presented by the Hon. Mr. C. H. Gidney to the Legislative Council on March 9th.

No Civil Disobedience

The Finance Member observed: "There has been no recrudescence of Civil Disobedience and the province has settled down with but a very few exceptions to the determination of reform proposals and draw the best from them. Not only therefore has it been found possible to make the expected reduction in temporary additional police, but also to make it considerably earlier than was at first thought feasible. The times are still hard and the Government may perhaps without undue conceit take to itself a measure of credit in not only having balanced its budget but in having been able to devote by no means an inconsiderable sum for the expansion of its beneficent activities.

Closing Credit Balance

Referring to the present budget estimates the Finance Member said "The year 1932-33 is expected to close with a balance of Rs. 1,098,000 or Rs. 142,000 more than was budgetted. The present year's budget provided for an expenditure of Rs. 250,000 for the new Council Hall and Secretariat Buildings. Of this only Rs. 113,000 are likely to be spent before the close of the present year."

The Finance Member feared that the forecast of irrigation receipts would not be realised and would fall short of the budget estimates by Rs. 2 lakhs. This would be set off by two unexpected wind-falls of Rs. 124,000 under excise receipts due chiefly to the recovery of arrears of still-head duty from the Punjab Government and a saving of half a lakhs in police budget.

Estimates for 1933-34

Turning to budget estimates for 1933-34 the Hon. Mr. C. H. Gidney said "the revenue is estimated to produce Rs. 16,525,000 while the expenditure is estimated at Rs. 16,914,000 or an excess of expenditure over revenue of Rs. 389,000. The closing balance at the end of the next year will therefore be reduced from Rs. 1,098,000 to Rs. 709,000. The estimated expenditure for 1933-34 includes a sum of Rs. 239,000 for items of new expenditure, namely, the restoration of 5 per cent pay cut, annual increments, expansion of roads, construction of bridges and other activities of the education, medical and agricultural departments. The restoration of the salary cut accounts for an increase of Rs. 160,000 over the current year's revised estimates. The annual increments are responsible for a further increase of Rs. 125,000. There is also an increase of Rs. 63,000 under civil works which is due chiefly to budget estimates for 1933-34 providing Rs. 315,000 for expenditure on roads to be financed from the Road Development Fund as against Rs. 165,000 in the revised estimates for the current year. An increase of Rs. 150,000 on this account is, however, counter-balanced by decrease under establishment

charges owing to the fact that from the next year civil works will be carried by the new Public Works Department of this province and not by the military engineering service as hitherto. The decrease in revenue is due to a drop of Rs. 129,000 under excise and Rs. 262,000 under forests. These decreases will be partially counter-balanced by an increase under Irrigation and Civil works of Rs. 103,000 and Rs. 150,000 respectively.

Beneficent Schemes

The Finance Member in conclusion regretted that some beneficent schemes had to be ruled out for the present as the subvention still stood at the economy figure of one crore and the provincial revenue provided very little scope for expansion which could only be sought either in more prosperous times or in new taxation to which the Government did not have recourse to at present.

ANTI-PROSTITUTION BILL

The Governor-General accorded the sanction to Mr. Peerbaksh Khan, M.L.C., to introduce his Anti-Prostitution Bill in the Frontier Council on February 25.

The Bill was introduced in the Council at Abbotabad in May last and circulated for eliciting public opinion but the Legal Remembrancer raised an objection as the previous sanction of the Governor-General was essential prior to the introduction of the Bill.

BURMA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Governor's Speech

OPENING the Budget Session of the Burma Legislative Council on February 8, Sir Hugh Stephenson addressed the Legislature for the first time. Dealing at length with the economic situation and finances His Excellency said that about the political situation he could say nothing. They had forwarded to the Secretary of State the complete proceedings leading upto Council resolution on December 23, 1932. Now the issue of separation or federation for the time being had passed out of their hands and the Governor hoped they might give their whole-hearted attention to matters of internal administration. But there was one thing that the members and his Government were deeply interested in namely there was no recrudescence of disturbance which cost the Province so dearly. His Excellency added that he would rely on their support and approval for any measures which Government might feel necessary tc take to prevent this.

Misfortunes and Calamities

Proceeding His Excellency observed "We are on the eve of constitutional changes and Burma, whether as an autonomous province or a separate entity, must need have credit for its development and credit is not built on the foundation of unbalanced budgets. We had misfortunes, natural calamities, man-made rebellion but even if we were confident that such misfortunes will never occur again are we sure that our future revenue will balance our expenditure ? In the last three years the expenditure was reduced from 11½ crores to 9 crores 36 lakhs in spite of increased expenditure forced by rebellion, much of which, I fear, will be permanent in the coming budget. We provide practically nothing for the new works, drastically cut provisions for repairs and maintenance and stopped building grants to schools. We cannot live for ever on starvation diet.

Increase of Revenue

It is our common duty to explore every possibility for reducing the expenditure and increasing the income. We propose to place a Senior Officer on special duty at once to examine meticulously where money can be saved and I can assure you, that I shall give him every support in his very unpleasant duty. Meanwhile we shall place at a later date proposals for raising revenue by increasing the court fees and I am confident that I can rely on your co-operation and help. "

Budget Estimates

Mr. Thomas Couper, the Finance Member, presented the budget estimates for the year 1933-34 and in the course of his speech said that the financial results of 1932-33 which had not yet closed showed that receipts were less and disbursements were greater than anticipated. In place of an anticipated surplus of twenty-six lakhs " it was now expected that there would be a deficit of 60 lakhs which would have to be borrowed from the Government of India. " The revenue estimates for 1932-33 were framed in the assumption of slight improvement in trade but the assumption was falsified as the price level continued to fall and with that revenue also decreased, showing a net shrinkage of almost 76 lakhs. The ordinary land revenue 1931-32 normally assessed was 385 lakhs of which 18 lakhs were struck off

and only 210 lakhs were collected before March 31, 1932 and 157 lakhs were carried over. Of that 20 lakhs were struck off and the balance collected. Government had thus remitted 38 lakhs of land revenue and the loss of 20 lakhs due to remission in land revenue recently announced explained largely the expected decrease under land revenue. The expenditure for 1932-33 showed an increase under forest. Excise showed a decrease of over two lakhs and civil works about six lakhs.

Revenue and Expenditure

Turning to budget estimates for the coming year 1933-34 he said that receipts and disbursements could be summarised as follows:—Ordinary Revenue 926 lakhs, loans repaid to Local Government 31½ lakhs and miscellaneous receipts 22½ lakhs making total receipts of 980 lakhs.

Ordinary expenditure 900 lakhs, expenditure of a capital nature 37 lakhs, loans by Local Government and miscellaneous payments 12 lakhs and repayment of instalment of principal on past loans received from Government of India 16 lakhs, total 973 lakhs. These figures showed an estimated surplus of seven lakhs but the estimates were prepared on the assumption that the ten per cent pay cut would be continued. The recent decision reducing the pay cut by five per cent has increased expenditure by 16 lakhs and provisions for this sum are engaging the attention of Government. Supplementary estimates would be presented at a later session. Revenues for the coming year were estimated on the assumption that produce prices would make recovery towards pre-war level and it is hoped, would be about eighty lakhs more than the collections during previous year. Regarding ordinary expenditure for 1933-34 the estimate of 900 lakhs is 23 lakhs less than the expenditure for 1932-33, the fall in cost of food and stores equipment explaining the reductions.

Capital expenditure in the coming year aggregates to 36 lakhs for works which Government is already committed or which it had advised to be undertaken. On first April 1932 the Province owed the Government of India 625 lakhs but considering that the proposed loans of 66 lakhs would cover the provincial deficit and 36 lakhs to finance capital expenditure, the provincial debt would amount approximately to 712 lakhs on March 31, 1933. The future financial position of the Province will be regarded with great anxiety. In the present year the province will be unable to repay the debt out of revenue. It can be paid only by getting further into debt. The estimated surplus in revenue accounts of 26 lakhs is too small to meet the unexpected calls and further taxation and retrenchment seemed inevitable even if retrenchment should entail abandonment for the time being of benificial activities.

Government's Double Defeat

Discussion of non-official resolutions commenced on February 13 when the Government again suffered defeat twice. One resolution recommending the postponement of the collection of land revenue till the middle of April every year was carried by a large majority. The Government members opposing the resolution said that it was against the cultivators' interests.

Another resolution recommending a reduction in the land revenue and capitation tax by half this year or in the alternative recommending to Government to direct the Revenue Officers to accept paddy in lieu of cash on the basis and valuation of Rs. 150 per 100 baskets or other agricultural products on the basis of prices assumed at the settlement on the last occasion

was pressed to a division and carried by a large majority. The mover of the resolution suggested the taxing of foreign capital at four annas per Rs. 100 in order to meet the resultant deficit, as foreign traders got off lightly paying income tax whereas the sons of the soil paid heavily in the shape of land revenue and other taxes.

Government Opposition

The Finance Member opposing said that the suggestion of taxing foreign capital was a discriminatory one. Further Burma's present developed state was all due to foreign capital and without it Burma would have been a semi-savage state as in the past.

"Cuts" Carried

The Council debated the Home Member's demands for grants on February 22.

Two "cuts" were carried by a large majority, despite Government opposition. One "cut" involved Rs. 10,000, the mover asking the Government to give effect to the Council recommending the stoppage of exodus to hill-station. The European Chamber's representatives supported the motion.

Another "cut" which was carried recorded the House's disapproval of the action of the Government in deporting some Phoongyis and laymen without trial and also in declaring Nationalist Associations unlawful.

SALARIES OF MINISTERS

The Council resumed discussion on February 24 on the Forest Minister's demands for grant of Rs. 14,658,950 to meet the expenditure of his Department.

A member of the Peoples' Party moved a motion fixing the Ministers' salary at Rs. 2,500 on the ground that the country's financial position did not permit high salary.

Minister's Reply

The Education Minister, U Kyaw Din, said if the country wanted them to accept less salary they would agree but not through this particular motion which was moved because a particular party wanted the Ministry. He pointed out that no such motion was moved by the People's Party when the members of that party occupied the Ministerial chairs.

Mr. Stoneham informed the House that they would vote against the motion in view of the fact that Government were going to appoint a retrenchment officer.

A Member of Dr. Ba Maw's Party opposing the motion said that if the motion was carried it would affect the separation and federation issue to which U Chit Hlaing's group cried "no."

"No-Confidence" Motion Against Forest Minister

U Soe Nyun, Member of the Peoples' Party then moved that Ministers' salary be reduced by one rupee to express "no-confidence" in the Forest Minister. The speaker expressed surprise that the Minister was occupying his seat during the discussion and said he moved this motion not because he hated Sir Joseph but because he loved his country. The Ministers' Party consisted of ten members. So it was not right that it should rule the country with the help of official votes. At the recent election the Ministers' Party suffered a heavy defeat indicating the Party's unpopularity but in spite of this Sir Joseph was nominated Minister. Moreover Sir Joseph's party included Anti-Separationists. The speaker concluded that Ministry was unpopular and hence should be removed.

Government Reply

The Home Member refuting the charges against the Governor narrated the incidents prior to the formation of Ministry informing the House of the Governor's interviews with party leaders and offers made for formation of Ministry. He said that Dr. Ba Maw, U Chit Hlaing and U Ba Pe all refused to form Ministry but being assured of Dr. Ba Maw Party's support to the present Ministry, His Excellency nominated the Ministers.

Motions Lost

On February 25, the Burma Council resumed debate on the no-confidence motion on the Forest Minister, arising out of a token cut by U. Soe Nyun of People's Party, and after about three hours' debate the House rejected the motion by a majority of thirteen votes. Several Burmese members supported while others opposed the motion. Mr Ganga Singh supported the motion while Khan Bahadur Walli Mahomed opposed it expressing the opinion that Sir Joseph was the best man for the post.

Mr. Boothgravley, Chief Secretary, speaking on the constitutional aspect of the question, said that the paramount importance of the moment was a stable Government and stable Ministry. The speaker said that no single party of the House could form a Ministry without coalition. As long as the Ministry commanded the majority of the House it was a constitutional coalition Ministry.

U Soe Nyun, mover, replying to the debate remarked that Sir Joseph had no policy having a blank mind on the question of separation. The speaker said that it was a relief to know the Doctor Ba Maw's party was Ministerial one.

Sir Joseph winding up the debate observed that during the last ten years he did his best to serve his country. If he had committed mistakes they were honest ones.

The motion was then pressed to a division and lost, forty-two voting for and fifty-five against. Four Europeans, two representing Burma Chamber, one Trades Association and one nominated, remained neutral.

Abolition of Ministry

Mr. Champagnac, representing Anglo-Indians, moved that the Forest Minister's salary be refused, urging abolition of Ministry on the ground that Ministers had no work to do, besides the country's financial position did not permit to maintain Ministry. The speaker criticised Dr. Ba Maw's policy, characterising it as inconsistant as changing very often, and asked Dr. Ba Maw's party not to support Ministry, but to support his motion to end dyarchy.

Mr. Wilkie, Education Secretary, opposing the motion pointed out that the constitution under which they functioned provided Ministers to administer transferred subjects, except in case of emergency when the Governor should take charge. The mover was wrong in thinking that there was lack of work for Ministers, who could economise departments under their charge. The motion was pressed to a division and lost by a majority of nine.

Grievances of Burmese Women

During discussion on the Budget cuts on the Home Member's demands the lady member, Daw Hnin Mya, moved a token cut to discuss the position of Burmese Buddhist women when they married non-Buddhists. She would

say that for the sake of health and prosperity of these women who married non-Buddhists and suffered later, Government should undertake legislation to ensure them the rights of married wife. Several Burman members supported the motion. The Home Member opposing said that the question involved many difficulties but they were not unsurmountable and assured them Government's sympathetic consideration to the question but despite this assurance the motion was pressed to division and carried.

The House passed the Home Member's demands, less cuts, amounting to over Rs. 10,000 inflicted on several motions.

50% Reduction of Ground Rent

On February 17, the resolution advocating reduction by 50 per cent of ground rent charged by the Rangoon Development Trust, was passed by 64 to 27 votes.

Another resolution that the Bassein Gold Club ground be made over to the trustees of Kothian Pagoda immediately, and the grounds reserved for the said Pagoda's use by an agreement between the parties concerned be kept inviolate, was carried by 60 to 22 votes.

Cut Motions Guillotined

With fifty minutes at its disposal the House took up the agenda containing 36 cut motions on demands for grants when the Education Minister U Kyaw Din moved for Rs. 14495390. Two motions reducing Ministers' salary by half were not moved.

Mr. H. C. Khoo, the Chief Whip of the People's Party moved a token cut to express no-confidence in the Education Minister observing the Minister had no party and no following. The mover was supported by other members icluding those of U. Chit Hlaing's party, but members of Dr. Ba Maw's party opposed. The debate was proceeding but as the clock struck five, the President put the entire demand which was carried without a division. Thus all cut motions were guillotined.

Criticism of Govt's Statement Disallowed

President called Mr. Ganni on February 28 to move his motion. Mr. Ganni asked for a ruling whether they could criticise and express opinion on the Finance Member's statement. The President said that the motion before the house was to discuss and express opinion on the Secretary of State's statement and also request to convene a special session of the Council to consider what action His Majesty's Government contemplated taking with regard to Burma's future constitution. The Finance Member made an important statement with regard to the conditions on which Burma could or could not enter the Indian Federation. That statement was made in absence of more than half of the Council members. No notice had been given for discussion of that statement. Therefore, he was compelled to rule that there could not be, and should not be any discussion, whatever, on the Finance Member's statement.

Mr. Ganni moved his motion. He said that the day before he asked Government on behalf of his party to make a statement on the subject. Their intention in doing so was to elicit from Government a full and correct statement of the Secretary of State. Government not only gave such a statement, but went further to make a reactionary declaration with motives best known to them.

The President intervened and asked the mover not to criticise Government's statement.

Mr. Ganni proceeded that the President ruled they could not criticise or express opinion on the Government statement. He was sure that when Government made a statement, it was understood fully that the House would have the right to criticise it, else it would not have undertaken to make a statement and circulate it. He did not question the President's ruling, but the effect was that Government took the opportunity of making a declaration of views fully protected from obvious attacks of criticisms from his part.

Anti-Separationists' Attitude

Continuing he said on behalf of Doctor Ba Maw's party that he desired only to state that "we are anti-Separationists, and Government must know that we have not rejected the federal alternative, contained in the Premier's term of reference. As we are, however, prevented from discussing fully these matters by the President's ruling, our party feels that no useful purpose can now be served and indeed with the debate with our hands tied in this manner. Under these circumstances I only move the motion without any speech."

A Burmese member of Dr. Ba Maw's party associated himself with Mr. G. Ganni's remarks. Mr. B. N. Das on behalf of anti-Separationists also supported Mr. Ganni.

The motion was carried without a dissentient voice.

WHITE PAPER AND NEW SITUATION

U. Chit Hlaing and Dr. Ba Maw, leader of the Anti-Separationist parties and Sir J. A. Maungyi, leader of the Independent Party are signatories to a requisition sent to the Governor on March 23 for convening immediately a special session of the Burma Council which states that the reference to Burma contained in the White Paper and the Secretary of State's reply on March 6 last regarding British policy in Burma have created a new and urgent situation as the result whereof they consider it necessary that the Burma Council should be allowed an immediate opportunity to give reply regarding Burma's choice in the form and manner required by the British Government. They further maintain that requests for such opportunity was contemplated in Mr. Ganni's motion which was adopted without a division at the session of the local Council.

Cable To Secretary of State

U. Chit Hlaing and Dr. Ba Maw jointly sent on the same date the following cable to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy:—

"British Government's interpretation of Burma Council's resolution on the Separation issue as stated in the White Paper and the Secretary of State's replies in the Commons have caused great surprise and dissatisfaction in this country. That resolution definitely rejected the Premier's offer of separation on the basis of his proposed constitution but certainly it did not reject the other alternative suggested by him, namely, Burma's entry into the All-India Federation on the basis that constituent units cannot leave it as and when they choose. This meaning of the resolution is supported by the fact that another resolution accepting the principle of separation for Burma was simultaneously defeated. We insist, therefore, on strict adherence to the actual terms of the Premier's offer. However, to prevent further excuses to delay and jeopardise Burma's constitutional future and in accordance with the division at the last session of the Council, we have requested the Governor for convening a special session of the Council at the earliest possible date to reply in the most definite terms regarding the

choice of alternatives offered by the Premier. In the meantime we request for full recognition of the fact that Burma as a part of British India is entitled to all rights of participation in the evolution of the Indian Federation which is claimed and exercised by other Indian provinces. In this connection, U. Chit Hlaing and 18 other anti-separationist members of the Burma Legislative Council, have already telegraphed their views to you on the 15th and 20th February, 1933."

Burmese Associations' Statement

The General Council of Burmese Associations made the following statement on the present political situation in Burma:—

Burma has made perfectly clear her constitutional demand in the Council resolution on the separation issue which was passed without a division. The People's Party and other separationists are bound by the resolution which unequivocally rejected the proposal for Burma's separation on the basis of the constitution outlined by the Premier. That part of the resolution is absolutely without any qualification. Sir Samuel Hoare has treated Burma's demand for an acceptable constitution with contempt and has not made the slightest reference to the really essential part of that demand, namely, full responsible self-Government within a resonable period and provision for automatic growth till that end was achieved. The Associations clearly foresee how the country will react to this policy but the decision rests with the All-Burma Political Conference which will commence in the first week of April. In the meantime, it is useless for us to say anything. English history tells us the story of a King who tried to stop the tide and failed. British Government is not likely to meet with better results.

Burma's Strength Lies in Union With India

Mr. Maung Maungji, anti-Separationist leader in a statement to the Press on March 28 after pointing out the inferiority of the constitution for Separated Burma as against even such retrograde and reactionary proposals for Indian Federation as are contained in the White Paper concludes that in Union with India lies their strength and only thus can they realise the destiny of their country. Referring to the Council resolution* of last December to which both Separationists and anti-Separationists were parties, Mr. Maung Maungji exhorts every honest separationist to throw in his lot with the Federation because the Government have now definitely turned down their demands for a separate constitution with provisions for automatic growth to full responsibility after a reasonable period of transition and reserved powers.

Worse Under Separation

According to him, the constitutional position of Burma will be worse under separation than as a unit in the Federation. As a federated unit, Burma will have one legislative chamber only which will singly control all those departments which are essential for the growth of the nation as against a state of affairs under separation wherein progress will be thwarted by the two-chamber system. As regards the powers of the two Houses, not merely will they equal in separated Burma but even money Bills could originate in the Upper House, while in the case of the Indian Federation it is specifically laid down in the White Paper that money Bills and demands for grants will be initiated in the Lower Chamber. The immense importance of this difference will be appreciated by those who will remember that even

*Vide Indian Recorder Vol. III. (Oct.-Dec.) Page 880.

in England these rights were won by the House of Commons after many years of arduous struggle.

Reserved Subjects

As regards the reserved subjects, it cannot be too strongly stressed that while India will have only two important reserved subjects, namely, Defence and External Affairs, Separated Burma will have in addition kept out of the control of her legislature, the most important branch of finance, namely, her financial policy and management of credit and currency questions.

Referring to the employment of Burmans in the defence of their country, Mr. Maung Maungji says that Burmans as citizens under the Indian Federation will share in the scheme of Indianisation of the Army on the complete realisation of which the Indian public, as is well-known, has set its heart. Burma, when separated, will continue to be defended by non-Burma recruits probably from the excluded areas and Britain.

Public Services

As regards the public services, though a reference is made to the establishment of a Public Services Commission in Separated Burma the Prime Minister's statement is utterly silent on the method of recruitment to the superior services while with regard to India, it is admitted that the scheme of Indianisation according to the Lee Commission will be worked out in the normal manner and that the whole problem of recruitment of non-Indians will be considered at the end of five years.

Partition of Burma

Referring to the partition of Burma into three distinct units, namely Burma proper, Shan states and the excluded areas, containing the latent economic wealth of Burma Mr. Maung Maungji says that this policy of partition stands out in utter contrast with the aim pursued in India where by means of the Federal Constitution, the existing division of India into British India and Indian India is to be bridged over in the interests of national unity. The partition of Burma will be an economic disaster of the first magnitude. The only way to avert that catastrophe is provided by entry into the Indian Fedeaation.

Mr. Maung Maungji concludes:—"Once separated, Burma will find it a herculean task, a task almost certainly beyond her physical and economic powers to improve upon the constitution which will be foisted on her after separation. However, if Burma remains united with the other provincial units in the Indian Federation, she will provide opportunities for her people together with the people of India, to exercise that immense political pressure without which there does not seem to be much hope for India and there will certainly be much less for Burma."

INTERPELLATIONS

Land Under Ownership of Chettiars

The following interpellations were answered in Burma Legislative Council on February 17th.

U Thin Maung (Hanthawaddy West): Is Government aware that a large proportion of agricultural land has already passed into the hands of the Chettiars?

The Hon'ble the Finance Member: The answer is in the affirmative.

U Thin Maung: Will the Government be pleased to state: (a) if any enquiry has been made by the Debt Committee or by any Government officer

as to what is the total area of agricultural land which has passed into Chettiar ownership in recent years: and (b) give the results of such enquiry? Will Government be pleased to state if it proposes to take steps to guard against the dangers which the alienation of lands will bring about?

The Hon'ble the Finance Member: The Agricultural Debtors' Protection Committee is enquiring into this matter, and Government is awaiting its report before deciding what action, if any, should be taken.

U Thin Maung: Is Government aware that, in Burma, landowners of large and moderate means are a very extensive class and are the main support of the country's rural economy and that this class is now in very urgent need of financial facilities?

(a) Is Government also aware that this class is one of great importance and that their financial embarrassment is the cause of much stagnation in rural areas; and (b) that this has been stressed in the report of the Bihar and Orissa Banking Enquiry Committee referred to in paragraph 234 of the Central Indian Banking Enquiry Committee's Report?

The Hon'ble the Finance Member: Government is aware that landowners play an important part in rural economy, and that the restriction of credit arising out of their failure to repay past advances must necessarily affect rural areas. Government has no information as to the Bihar and Orissa Banking Enquiry Committee's report.

LIFE SENTENCE FOR 535

51 Executed

In reply to a question by Mr. U Tha Gyaw the Hon'ble Home Member informed the House on February 23rd that in connection with the last rebellion in Burma, altogether 274 persons were sentenced to death of whom the number of persons already executed up-to-date was 51. Death sentence was commuted by the High Court in 88 cases, by the Governor in Council and the Governor-General in Council in 63 cases. Altogether 72 cases were still under consideration. Number of persons undergoing transportation for having taken part in the rebellion was 535.

WHITE PAPER

SUMMARY

The following is a summary of the contents of the White Paper which was issued on March 17th:—

The White Paper contains proposals for liberalising the constitution, but every such proposal is hedged round with numerous safeguards. The proposals do not apply to Burma.

Conditions Precedent to Federation

An all-India Federation is the aim of these proposals. Since a federation cannot be established until the federating units come into being, provincial autonomy will precede federation. The establishment of the federation is conditional on (1) States containing at least 50 per cent. of the total State population agreeing to join it, (2) establishment of a Federal Reserve Bank. Should either of these two conditions fail to materialise, the whole position will be examined in consultation with Indian opinion.

The powers at present enjoyed by the Secretary of State for India in respect of supervision and general control over Indian administration will remain unaffected.

It is proposed that sovereignty for India will vest in the Crown and that the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors will administer it on behalf of the Crown.

Safeguards

The Governor-General will have a Cabinet composed of Ministers drawn from British India and the States and responsible to the Legislature. The Governor-General, however, will be personally responsible for the administration of the following subjects:

(1) Defence, (2) External affairs, (3) Ecclesiastical matters, (4) Safety of the Federation, (5) Rights of the Native States, (6) Financial stability and credit of the Federation, (7) Interests of Minorities, (8) Rights of public services, and (9) Prevention of commercial discrimination.

In matters pertaining to defence, External affairs and ecclesiastical department, the Governor-General will be advised by Counsellors independent of the legislature.

In the execution of his responsibility regarding subjects reserved for him, the Governor-General will have power to overrule his Ministers as well as the Legislature. The Governor-General will also have power to prorogue, adjourn or convene the Legislature; to withhold assents to Bills; and also to promulgate measures on his own authority. If the Governor-General so deems fit, he can make any measure proposed by His Ministers, Independent of the Legislature.

The Governor-General in his own authority as well as the Governor-General acting with his Ministers, will have power to promulgate ordinances. These special powers also apply to the Budget.

Central Legislature

The Central Legislature will be bi-cameral. The Upper House will consist of not more than 260 members of whom 100 will be nominated by the

States, 150 will be elected by Provincial legislatures and not more than 10 will be nominated by the Viceroy.

The Lower House will consist of 375 members, of whom 125 will be nominated by the States.

Representation of the States in the Upper House will mainly depend upon the Salute to which each Prince is entitled, and to the Lower House on the basis of population.

The tenure of the Federal Upper House will be seven years and that of the Lower House five years. The powers of both Houses will be co-extensive except that all money bills should emanate from the Lower House.

Break-Down

In case of a threatened break-down of the constitution, the Governor-General may, by proclamation, vest in himself all powers ordinarily vested in the Federal Government. The proclamation will have effect for six months unless confirmed for longer period by British Parliament.

Allocation of Revenues

Allocation of revenues between the Federation and the provinces will be more or less on the same lines as at present exists between the Central Government and the provinces. Specially, the demarcation may be summed up as follows:—

1. Exclusively federal—Import duties except salt; railway contributions; commercial undertakings; reserve bank profits.

2. Federal sources which partially assigned to provinces—export duties; salt duties; tobacco; and excise duties generally.

3. Provincial sources subject to federal surcharge; Stamp duties; terminal taxes.

4. Provincial sources—land revenue; excise duties and alcohol, forests, and other unspecified taxes.

Income Tax

Income tax will be administered federally, and revenue will be divided between the federation and the units at a ratio to be fixed later. Income tax, however, will be subject to surcharge both by the federation and the units.

Processes Involved in Federation

Rather more than half the general introduction to the White Paper is devoted to the question of Federation.

At the outset it is explained that the processes involved in the formation of a Federation of States and Provinces will necessitate a complete reconstruction of the existing Indian constitution and that the existing Government of India Act will therefore have to be repealed '*in toto*'.

The reason for this is that whereas the States—despite the fact that they are under the suzerainty of the King-Emperor,—form no part of His Majesty's dominions, the Provinces, on the other hand, are not only part of His Majesty's dominions but part of a unitary State comprising British India as a whole, and therefore have no sovereignty of their own.

The first step necessary to effect the transition to the new dispensation from the existing constitutional position must be to define the jurisdiction of the Federal and Provincial authorities respectively.

This, however, would not be possible unless the Provinces are endowed with autonomy of their own and have defined to them an exclusive share in the activities of Government.

New Regime

It is therefore proposed, on the repeal of the present Government of India Act.

Firstly, to vest all powers appertaining to the Government of British India in the Crown, and

Secondly, to make them exercisable on behalf of the Crown by the Governor-General, the Governor, and other authorities established under the Act.

It is further proposed to constitute a Council of Ministers in each Province to advise the Governor and legislature of elected representatives to whom the Ministers will be responsible;

And to define the competence of the Provincial and Federal legislatures in terms of subjects.

Date of Federation

The Federation however cannot be brought into being by the mere passing of the Constitution Act. Apart from the fact that it will be difficult to complete certain essential activities in British India, such as the preparation of the new electoral rolls and the demarcation of constituencies, —before the Act is on the Statute Book, the process of negotiating their Instruments of Accession individually with the States cannot be undertaken until the Act has been passed, for until then they will not have full knowledge of the character of the Federation they are asked to join.

After the Act is passed, and subject to certain other conditions with regard to finance that will be described subsequently, it is proposed that the Federal Constitution should be brought into operation as soon as Ruler of States representing not less than half the States' aggregate population have executed their Instruments of Accession.

It is of course probable that the new Provincial Government will be brought into being in advance of changes in the Central Government;

But His Majesty's Government repeat the declaration regarding the latter which they made at the last session of the Round Table Conference, —namely, that they do not contemplate the introduction of the new autonomous constitutions in the Provinces under conditions which would leave Federation as a mere contingency of the future.

Should causes beyond His Majesty's Government's control place obstacles in the way of the completion of the whole scheme, steps will be undertaken to review the position in consultation with Indian opinion.

Federal Executive

The Executive powers of the Federation will be exercised by the Governor-General as the King's representative. He will be advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the Federal Legislature and containing representatives both of British India and the States, and will generally be guided by such advice.

Certain subjects however, namely, Defence, External Affairs, and ecclesiastical administration will be entrusted to the Governor-General personally, and these he will control in responsibility to Parliament.

He will moreover be entitled to act independently of his Ministers in the exercise of certain specific powers conferred on him by the Constitution

which are subsequently set forth in detail. In order to assist him in the administration of the Reserved Departments, he will be empowered to ap- point at his discretion three Counsellors who will be ex-officio members of both Chambers of the Legislature, but without the right to vote.

Instrument of instructions to the Governor-General will contain directions for progressive association of responsible Ministers with reserved subjects.

Federal Legislature

The Federal Legislature will be bicameral, the two Chambers possessing identical powers except that money Bills will be initiated in the Lower Chamber.

The latter will consist of a maximum of 375 members, of whom, 125 will be appointed by the State. The remaining British Indian representatives will be directly elected by constituencies in each Province.

The Upper Chamber will consist of a maximum of 260 members, of whom not more than 100 will be nominated by the States. The British Indian members,—150 in number,—will mostly be elected from each Provincial Legislature by means of the single transferable vote.

Special qualifications will be demanded of candidates for the Upper Chamber including a higher age-limit than in the case of the Lower Chamber.

The Governor-General will be empowered to nominate not more than ten extra members of this Chamber at his discretion.

Allocation of Seats

As regards the allocation of seats in the Federal Legislature to the States, the principle on which this is to be based has not yet been decided;

But the general view of His Majesty's Government is that it should be dependent in the case of the Upper Chamber on the rank and importance of the States as indicated by dynastic salutes and other factors;

And in the case of the Lower Chamber in the main on population.

The franchise proposed for the Federal Legislature is approximately the same as that recommended by the Indian Franchise Committee, that is, practically identical with that now provided under the existing constitution for the Provincial Legislatures. The electorate for the Federal Legislature will thus amount to between 7 and 8 million people.

Governor-General and Ministers

This topic is dealt with at considerable length, in order that the extent and limitations of the various special powers and responsibilities with which the Governor-General will be endowed should be clearly defined and understood. So far as the Reserved Departments are concerned,—i.e., the Departments dealing with Defence, External Affairs, and ecclesiastical matters, which will be in charge of Councillors, not Ministers, it is remarked that although these will be administered by the Governor-General on his sole responsibility it will be impossible for him in practice to conduct their affairs in isolation from the other activities of his Government, and undesirable that he should attempt to do so.

A prudent Governor-General would keep his Ministers and Councillors in the closest contact, and so arrange the conduct of executive business

that he and they were given full opportunity of consultation on all matters which called for co-ordination of policy. His Majesty's Government intend to secure the embodiment of this principle in the Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions. They contemplate, for example, that it should contain a direction to the effect that the Governor-General should endeavour to secure that his Ministers' views about defence expenditure are ascertained and considered before the military budget is laid before the Legislature.

The Instruments of Instructions will formally recognise that the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people.

The Minister in charge of the other Departments will have a constitutional right to tender advice, and the Governor-General will in general be guided by their advice. Here the problem is to prescribe definitely the special circumstances in which he would be entitled to overlook their advice and act on his own responsibility.

His Majesty's Government consider that the most satisfactory course would be to enact provisions in the constitution laying down that the Governor-General has a "special responsibility" not for spheres of administration but for certain clearly indicated general purposes, and to insert in the Instrument of Instructions a direction that the Governor-General is at all times to be guided by his Ministers' advice unless this would be inconsistent with one of the "special responsibilities" imposed on him.

It is emphasised that unless the Governor-General felt called upon to differ from his Ministers regarding these matters, the Ministers' responsibility for the subjects committed to their charge would remain complete. It is not contemplated that the Governor-General will ever wish or find it necessary to be constantly over-ruling his Ministers advice. The proposals throughout assume that every endeavour will be made by those responsible for working the constitution to approach the problems that confront them in the spirit of partners in a common enterprise. His Majesty's Government take the view that, in the great bulk of cases in day-to-day administration where questions affecting the Governor-General's "special responsibilities" might arise, mutual consultation should result in agreement, and the possibility of bringing the Governor-General's "special responsibility," into play would thus not be seriously entertained.

Special Powers

The matters in respect of which it is proposed that the Governor-General should be declared to have a "special responsibility" are classified as follows:—

(1) the prevention of grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or of any part thereof;

(2) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation;

(3) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities;

(4) the securing to the members of the public services of any rights provided for them in the constitution, and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests;

(5) the protection of the rights of any Indian State;

(6) the prevention of commercial discrimination;

(7) any matter which affects the administration of the reserved departments.

The necessity for including some general provision resembling that set forth in item (7) is explained by the fact that if, for example, the Governor-General were free to follow his own judgment regarding defence only in matters falling strictly within the ambit of the Defence Department, he might find that proposals made in another Department directly conflicted with the policy he considered essential for defence, and thus that the fulfilment of his responsibility for defence would be impaired if he accepted the advice of the Minister in charge of the other Department concerned.

Item (5), (the protection of the rights of any Indian State), is necessitated by the possibility that the Federal Government, although acting within its constitutional rights, might initiate measures which if pursued to a conclusion would prejudice the rights of a State in a matter in which it had tranferred no jurisdiction; or alternatively, that events might arise in a Province which would tend to prejudice the rights of a neighbouring State. In such cases it must be open to the Crown through the Governor-General or the Governor to secure that measures or events are so modified as to maintain the integrity of State rights.

Discrimination

The constitution will contain certain provisions designed to deal with the possibility of commercial discrimination. Any measure brought forward would be open to challenge in the courts if it appeared to contravene these provisions. But the Governor-General must also be entitled to act independently of his Ministers' advice if he considers it involves discriminatory action in the administrative sphere; and he will be empowered to do so under item (6).

Finance

There remains item (2), (the safeguarding of the Financial Stability of the Federation.) The finances of the Federation generally will, like all other subjects except those reserved, be entrusted to the Ministry, and normally the Ministry alone will take decisions on the means to be used for raising revenues, the allocation of expenditure in the responsible field, and the external and internal borrowing programme. The object of the Governor-General's "special responsibility" with regard to Finance is to give him powers of intervention should his Ministers' policy, by prejudicing India's credit in the world's money markets, endanger the provision of resources for the reserved Departments or any of the obligations of the Federation. To assist him in discharging this special responsibility, he will be empowered to appoint a Financial Adviser (without executive powers), whose services will also be available to the Ministry.

Reserve Bank

The proposals relating to ministerial responsibility in finance assume that, by the time the first Federal Ministry comes into being, a Reserve Bank constituted by Indian legislation, and free from political influence, will be successfully operating.

But although every endeavour is being made to hasten the establishment of such a Bank, some of the conditions necessary thereto are subject to world economic conditions outside His Majesty's Government's control.

There is thus a possibility of a situation arising in which all the other requirements for Federation have been fulfilled except the establishment of the Reserve Bank.

In this event His Majesty's Government are pledged to call into conference representatives of Indian opinion to reconsider the position and determine what course should be pursued.

Over-riding Legislature

Apart from his obligation with regard to the Reserved Departments and the various "special responsibilities" above mentioned the Governor-General will be free to act on his own initiative in certain other respects, having *inter alia* the power to dissolve, prorogue, or summon the legislature, to assent to or withhold assent from Bills, to grant previous sanction to the introduction of certain classes of legislative measures, and to summon a joint session of the Legislature in emergency.

Governor-General's Acts

Since the Governor-General is empowered to fulfil his "special responsibilities" in certain circumstances irrespective of his Ministers' advice, it follows that he must be enabled also to counteract an adverse vote of the Legislature in the same sphere.

Thus his legislative power might require to be used not only if his Ministers refused to be parties to a Bill which he considered necessary to the discharge of his responsibilities, but also if the Legislature rejected or materially altered a similar Bill for which the Ministers had accepted responsibility.

The essential point to be secured in either case would be that when he decided that the fulfilment of his responsibilities necessitated action to which he could not get the consent of his Ministers or of the Legislature, the resulting enactment should not purport to be an enactment of the Legislature (as do Acts which the Governor-General "Certifies" under the existing constitution), and that his Ministers should not be compromised by it either in the Legislature or their constituencies. Measures enacted by the Governor-General without the consent of the Legislature would therefore be described as "Governor-General's Acts," and a special form of enacting words would be employed for them.

Budget

The powers proposed for the Governor-General in the matter of supply are based upon the same principle. The Budget will be framed by the Finance Minister in consultation with his colleagues. If however the Governor-General regards his Ministers' proposals as insufficient to enable him to fulfil his "special responsibilities," he will be entitled to append additional proposals, distinguished as such in the Budget Statement, and the Legislature will not be invited to vote upon them. After the Legislature has passed the Budget, the Governor-General, if he considers acceptance of the Legislature's decision would be inconsistent with the discharge of his "special responsibilities," will be enabled to bring the appropriations into accord with his own requirements. The special power of the Governor-General to obtain legislation and supply without the assent of the Legislature will thus flow from the responsibilities specifically imposed upon him, and will be exercisable solely for the purpose of enabling those responsibilities to be implemented.

Ordinance Making Powers

It will also be necessary that the Governor-General and his Ministers should have legislative powers capable of immediate employment in emergencies, particularly when the Legislature is not sitting.

It is accordingly proposed to vest in the Governor-General power analogous to the existing Ordinance-making power, and His Majesty's Government are further of opinion that a similar power must be placed at the

disposal of the Governor-General acting with his Ministers, i.e., at the disposal of the Federal Government as a whole.

The Provinces

The total number of Provinces will be 11, namely, the 9 existing Provinces 'plus' Sind and Orissa.

These Provinces will be autonomous units, the Government of each being administered by the Governor representing the King, and advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

The Council of Ministers will be entitled to tender advice to the Governor by which he will be guided, except on those occasions in which this would in his judgment be inconsistent with the fulfilment of the purposes for which he will be charged with a "special responsibility."

Governor's Special Responsibilities

These will be identical with those of the Governor-General with the following exceptions. The responsibility for the prevention of menace to public peace or tranquility will necessarily be confined in scope to the Governor's own Province, and to extend to India as a whole. The Governor-General's own special responsibility in this matter however postulates that he must be in a position to ensure that his instructions to a Governor therefore will be empowered to ignore his Ministers' advice if it should conflict with instructions received by him from the Governor-General.

Finally, the Governor will be provided with "special responsibility" for certain excluded areas which, owing as a rule to the primitive nature of their populations, must be placed outside the normal operation of the constitution.

While some of these areas are placed under Ministerial control subject to an over-riding power vested in the Governor, others will perhaps be placed exclusively under the Governor's authority.

It will be necessary also, owing to the division of legislative powers between the centre and the Provinces, for Provincial Governors as well as the Governor-General to be empowered to legislate in emergency by Ordinance.

Instrument of instructions to provincial Governors will contain directions for progressive association with responsible Ministers with reserved subjects.

Provincial Ministers

The number of Ministers in each province will be determined by the Governor. Ministers shall be chosen by the Governor at his discretion, having regard to party position in the Legislature and to representation of important minorities. Each Minister will hold office during the Governor's pleasure. Ministers' salaries will be determined by the Governor. Every Minister must be a member of the Legislature—and, if not must be elected immediately after his appointment as Minister.

Provincial Legislatures

These will be substantially enlarged.

In three of the eleven Provinces, i.e., Bengal, U. P. and Bihar, the Legislatures will be bicameral and in the remainder will consist of one Chamber.

The powers of Upper Chambers will not be co-extensive with those of Lower Chambers and will extend only to revision and delay.

It will be provided that Upper Chambers where they exist may subsequently be abolished, or similarly that where they do not exist they may be created.

Poona Pact

The allocation of seats and the method of election for the Lower House will be in accordance with the provisions of His Majesty's Government's Communal Award, subject to two minor modifications,—one necessitated by the Poona Pact, and the other by the decision to establish Orissa as a separate Province. The franchise proposals for the Provincial Legislatures corresponds closely to the recommendations of the Indian Franchise Committee, and will result in the creation of an aggregate provincial electorate of approximately 14 per cent of the total population of British India.

Where Provinces have a bicameral legislature, the Upper House will be known as the Legislative Council and the Lower House will be known as the Legislative Assembly. The tenure of the Upper House will be seven years, and of the Lower House five years.

Provincial Legislature's Strength

The strength of provincial legislative assemblies (Lower Houses) will be as follows:—

The White Paper states that the Central Provinces will provisionally include Berar subject to negotiations now going on between His Majesty's Government and the Nizam.

Province.	Population in millions.	Sea
Madras	45·6	215
Bombay	18·0	175
Bengal	50·0	250
United Provinces	48·4	228
Punjab	23·6	175
Bihar	32·4	152
C. P. with Berar	15·5	112
Assam	8·6	108
N. W. F.	2·4	50
Sind	3·9	60
Orissa	6·7	60

Federal and Provincial Legislatures

The principles of Federation and provincial autonomy involve a complete departure from the existing system of concurrent jurisdictions, and will necessitate a statutory demarcation between the competence of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures. Illustrative lists of the exclusively Federal and exclusively Provincial subjects are attached as appendices to the Paper, together with a list of such residuary subjects as it may be necessary still to classify as concurrent. A few special subjects will be placed outside the competence of the Legislatures, among them being legislation affecting the sovereignty of the Crown, the Royal Family, the law of British nationality, and certain forms of discriminatory legislation.

Sources of Revenue

This complicated subject is dealt with at considerable length. The various sources of revenue (apart from income-tax, which is considered separately) are classified under four heads, as follows:—

(1) Revenue sources that are exclusively federal, include import duties (except on salt); contributions from railways; receipts from other federal commercial undertakings; coinage profits, and a share in the profits of the Reserve Bank;

(2) Revenue sources that are federal, with the power to assign a share, or the whole, to the federal units:—These include export duties; salt duties; tobacco excise; and all other excises except those specified under head (4) below;

(3) Revenue sources that are provincial, with the power to impose a federal surcharge for the Federation:—These include terminal taxes on goods and passengers; and certain stamps duties;

(4) Revenue sources that are exclusively provincial:—These include land revenue; excise duties on alcoholic drugs and narcotics; stamps (with certain exemptions); forests and other provincial commercial undertakings; and sources of taxation not specified in any schedule (subject to certain conditions).

As regards income-tax, it is proposed that all legislation regarding this source of revenue, except the imposition by Provincial Legislatures of provincial surcharges, shall be Federal, and that the proceeds shall be divided between the Federation and the Provinces in a proportion not yet fixed, but amounting in the case of the Federation to between 25 and 50 per cent.

The Federal Legislature like the Provincial Legislature will be empowered to impose special surcharges of its own, whose proceeds will accrue to the Federation exclusively. Income-tax from assessments on officers in the Federal service and from Chief Commissioners' Provinces and other Federal areas will also accrue exclusively to Federal revenues.

Block Amount

It is however expected that in the early years of the Federation, before there has been time to develop new sources of taxation,—in particular Federal excise,—this system of distribution will leave the Federation with inadequate resources. It is accordingly intended to adopt a transitory provision by which the Federation can obtain for itself a block amount out of the proceeds of income-tax distributable to the Provinces. This amount will be unchanged for three years and will diminish in a fixed proportion during the next seven. As however it is also anticipated that certain Provinces may be in deficit under the proposed scheme, particularly in the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Orissa, and possibly Assam, it is proposed, at as late a stage as possible before the new constitution actually comes into operation, to review in the light of the economic conditions then prevailing the probable financial position both of the Federation and the Provinces.

Recruitment of Services

Provision is made for continued recruitment by the Secretary of State to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the Ecclesiastical Department. When the Constitution has been established for five years, there will be a statutory enquiry into the question of future recruitment to these services. In the meantime the present ratio of British to Indian recruitment to them will remain unaltered.

Statutory Railway Board

The Federal Legislature will exercise general control over Railway policy.

His Majesty's Government however consider that administrative control of Indian Railways should be placed in the hands of a statutory body, so composed as to be able to work on business principles without political interference.

It is intended that such rights as the Railway Companies now possess under the terms of their contracts to have access to the Secretary of State regarding disputed points should be preserved. A number of other matters arising out of the establishment of a Statutory Railway Board have yet to be decided.

Fundamental Rights

The question of including a Statement of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution was much discussed during the Round Table Conference. His Majesty's Government see serious objections to giving statutory expression to any large range of declarations of this character, but are satisfied that certain provisions, such as respect due to personal liberty and to property rights, eligibility to public offices regardless of differences of caste, religion, etc. should find a place in the Act.

It is remarked in a footnote that no proposals relating to Burma are included in the White Paper, since Burma has yet made no choice between the alternatives of separation from India, with a constitution such as was outlined at the Burma Round Table Conference, and inclusion as a Governor's Province within the Indian Federation.

Constitution Act

The mere passing of the Constitution Act will not introduce the Federation automatically. The new machinery will have to come into existence first and the States will have to determine from a knowledge of the Act their attitude towards the Federation. So far as the States are concerned, the adherence of a substantial number of them is considered by His Majesty's Government necessary before the Federation can come into operation. The purpose of the present proposals is not merely to introduce Provincial Autonomy with Federation as a mere contingency. The Federation will come into force only after a further Address from both Houses of Parliament.

The Act will contain provisions enabling the new Provincial Constitutions to be brought into being "if necessary before the Constitution as a whole comes into being." Transitory provisions included in the Act will enable temporary modifications to be made in its provisions for "continuing the existence of the present Indian Legislature, of removing the limit to the number of Counsellors, whom the Governor-General may appoint, of placing the administration of all departments of the Central Government under the Governor-General's exclusive control, and of suspending the operation of the provisions relating to the Council of Ministers. Broadly stated, the effect of these transitory provisions will be that the executive of the Central Government, though necessarily deprived of much of its present range of authority in the Provinces, would for the time being, be placed in substantially the same position as that occupied by the Governor-General in Council under the existing Act."

DEBATE IN ASSEMBLY

Sir B. L. Mitter, Leader of the House, moved on March 29th, that the White Paper be taken into consideration. He said that the White Paper was primarily published with a view to eliciting public opinion, and it was in the

fitness of things that the Assembly, which represented every shade of opinion, should examine carefully a document of such far-reaching importance,—a document, of destiny. The proposals contained in the White Paper were for effecting changes in the present system of Government, and the official members who formed part of that Government, therefore, would not take any part in the discussion of the White Paper and would leave it to non-officials to examine and express their opinion thereupon.

Sir Abdur Rahim's Amendment

Sir Abdur Rahim moved an amendment requesting the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government that in the opinion of the Assembly, unless the proposals of His Majesty's Government for Indian constitutional reform were substantially amended in the direction of conceding greater responsibility and freedom of action to the representatives of the people in the Central and Provincial spheres of Government, it would not be possible to ensure the peace or progress of the country.

Sir Abdur Rahim observed that the Government should have explained the whole scheme. He, however, took his stand on the declaration made in 1931 which was endorsed by both the Houses of Parliament and said that he would examine the whole scheme from the test of the declaration, in order to find out how far it fell short of the promise made by the British people.

Transitory Period

Sir Abdur Rahim said that he was not prepared to condemn the whole scheme, but asserted that unless there was a substantial amendment made towards giving greater responsibility to the people of India, the White Paper would not secure general acceptance, and would not secure contentment and peace in the country. The declaration promised to India full Responsible Government with a view to securing her a place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. He asked whether the insertion of words " transitory period, " was a fresh threat or a fulfilment of those promised, for he had failed to understand the meaning of that phrase.

The First Test

Sir Abdur Rahim stated that the first test they would apply would be whether the Constitution provided for development to full Responsible Government soon after the transition period was over; secondly, whether the reserve powers were so framed and would be so exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full Responsible Government. The White Paper left grave doubts on the point, and the Joint Select Committee would have to put matters right. Then again, the Governor-General and the Governors were given identical reserve powers. He wanted to know the reason therefor. The legislatures of the future would be reduced to the status of schoolboy societies and would be worse off than the present legislatures. Control of foreign relations would be outside there sphere, and it was only by this test that the world judged any nation's freedom or autonomy. The Statutory Railway Board would be another grave danger to their rights, and would mean that eighty per cent of the revenues would not be touched by the legislature.

As regards the scheme of All-India Federation, Sir Abdur Rahim observed, it went against the purpose of the Simon Enquiry, which was to promote Responsible Government in British India.

Sir Abdur Rahim objected to the Services being placed under the control of the Secretary of State. India would need the assistance of the I. C. S. and Indian Police Service till she evolved a different method of local government. He found the service men always loyal, but the day must come when the present organisation of the Services would be no longer needed. He considered Second Chambers a grave danger. He reminded them that even the House of Lords, consisting of talented men who built up the British nation, was out of date. The tide of democracy could not be stemmed, whether it was through Parliaments or dictators. Democracy was finding expression through national leadership. The constitution to be an instrument of benefit to the country must therefore be considerably altered by the Joint Committee, so that peace and contentment may be given to the country.

PRESIDENT'S RULING

The President said that mere notice of an amendment by a member did not entitle him to move the amendment. The Chair must regulate the debate in the best manner to lead to the maximum amount of usefulness. That was why he had called upon Sir Abdur Rahim to move his motion which, in the view of the Chair, was most comprehensive and raised a single definite issue. He asked the other members to tell him whether they wished to exercise the right to move their amendments, nineteen of which appeared on the order paper.

European Group's Views

Sir Leslie Hudson, Leader of the European group, wanted a dispassionate consideration of the advance sketched out in the White Paper, as compared to the Minto-Morley and Mont-Ford Reforms, the latter of which he described as a half-way house. He paid a warm tribute to the Civil Service. He said, whatever the defects in the constitution, her people were well governed and contented. The proposals contained in the White Paper were in the nature of a draft, which might be altered, amended and even altogether changed. These, however, were the proposals of the British Government, the aim of which was the grant of complete responsibility to Indians with safeguards which were to ensure the stability of the constitution. These were to transfer powers to the Governor, if the Executive failed to govern.

Safeguards

Sir Leslie Hudson said that the safeguards must be in black and white. The speaker pointed out that the scheme did not satisfy the European community in its entirety. They felt that there were not enough safeguards to protect the constitution from the policy of those who had launched Civil Disobedience and suggested repudiation of debts. Further, the subjects now classified as entirely federal or provincial, required re-examination. These, however, were matters of detail. It must be admitted that the proposals meant a great advance, and would usher in the dawn of an era of peace, contentment and prosperity, if worked in a spirit of comradeship.

"Not Surprised"

Mr. B. Das was not surprised at the White Paper, which was but the result of the Conference from which Nationalist opinion was excluded. Not only was that opinion excluded, but it was not even reflected by those present. The safeguards must be in the interest of India, and there must be

provision for automatic growth of the constitution into the Dominion form. Referring to Orissa, he was glad that the British Government had righted the wrong done by forming the Oriya-speaking tracts into a separate province, but he objected to the Government ignoring the unanimous recommendation of their own Committee which had suggested the inclusion of Vizagapatam and Parlakimedi. It was no wonder that he had received several messages of protest.

Mr. B. Das regretted that so much suspicion had been shown of Indians by creating safeguards. There would be only twenty per cent responsibility transferred to Indians under the White Paper proposals. Mr. Das protested against the proposal to create a Statutory Railway Board. He said that if a Reserve Bank could be created by the Indian Legislature, why not a Railway Board ? The provision regarding recruitment to the Services showed that there was no intention of transferring power to Indians. Mr. Das did not wish the Princes to come into Federation, for he did not believe that there could be a Federation between autocracy and democracy.

Dominion Status Not Stipulated

Sir M. Yakub referred to the Montagu declaration of 1917 and said that the present Government of India Act did not stipulate that the grant of Dominion Status would be dependent on Princes entering Federation. He asserted that British India was keen on preserving its rights and privileges, and was opposed to the idea of giving any weightage to Princes, which might reduce the British India majority to a minority or even an equality with the Princes in the legislature. Sir Mahomed Yakub felt that the proposals regarding special powers to the Governors and the Governor-General were due to the communal, terrorist and Congress troubles. Mussalmans regarded democracy as their heritage, but self-preservation was the first law of nature, and in the coming constitution, when certain communities would be placed at the mercy of others, certain safeguards were necessary to preserve their identity. Sir Mahomed Yakub, however, did not see any reason for reserving dictatorial and financial powers to the Governors. He wanted a statutory provision to safeguard the Muslims' share in the services and Cabinets, and pleaded for the transfer of residuary powers to the provinces, and separate electorates for Muslims and an adequate quota for them, out of the States' representation in the Federal Legislature, to make Moslem representation 33 1/3 per cent of the whole House. In conclusion, he observed that it would not be wise to reject the hand of friendship offered by Britain. The constitution could be worked with necessary modifications.

Special Responsibilities

Referring to the " special responsibilities " of the Governor-General and Governors, Sir Cowasji Jehangir quoted with approval, Chowdhury Zafarullah's demand at the Round Table Conference, that they must be made definite and beyond doubt, so that the legislature and the country might know who, in the circumstances of a given case, were really right and who were wrong. Otherwise, the constitution would break down. As for Financial safeguards, the Governor-General should have special powers with a view to maintaining the stability and credit of the country—for example, when a Minister refused to meet deficits by taxation, but wanted continuously to raise loans, or in any such given cases where interference was necessary, but not otherwise. Hence financial safeguards must be more clearly defined, and the sphere of interference prescribed. As for administrative discrimination, the special powers given to the Governor-General were necessary in any cases of hardship, but the representatives of the community affected by any

such discrimination should have opportunities to raise the issue, rather than the Governor-General's special powers being brought into use.

Reserve Bank

Alluding to the question of a Reserve Bank, the speaker demanded information as to when public opinion would be consulted and when the Bill would be brought before the Legislature, for a good deal of the future of the scheme depended on this. He also demanded information regarding the Statutory Railway Board.

Proceeding, Sir Cowasji admitted that some safeguards were necessary; in fact, they were being incorporated in the constitution at the request of some of the communities, but those safeguards were meant to be used in such a way that the Ministers might not be given a chance of shirking their normal responsibility to the Legislature.

The Worst Feature

Regarding introduction of a Bill amending the Paper Currency or Coinage Act, he asked why previous sanction of the Governor-General should be necessary when the Governor-General had power to veto it. But the worst feature of the White Paper was that relating to the Services. The recommendations were against the declarations of the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, which wanted the future recruitment to be in the hands of the Government of India. As one who wanted the British element in the services, thanks to the curse of communalism, and while he would not mind India paying a price for this communalism, he objected to India being made to pay a price which would be against the self-respect of India. He warned Britain of the agitation and discontent that would spread against the entire Constitution if this unjust proposal was not immediately withdrawn. He hoped Parliament would have commonsense enough to amend the White Paper scheme, so that India might remain a part of the British Empire.

Reserve Bank and Statutory Railway Board

Sir George Schuster, referring to the Reserve Bank and the Statutory Railway Board said:

"These two subjects form a very important part of the White Paper plan. It is clear that in their case further discussion—to a large extent technical discussion is necessary and that the Indian legislature has a very special interest in them. As to the Reserve Bank, the Secretary of State made it clear in his statement during the third Round Table Conference, that Indian opinion would be taken into consultation before the proposals were finally framed and put forward. The desirability that Indian opinion should be consulted as regards the Railway Board is also recognised. I am now authorised to state that it is proposed that special discussions with Indian representatives will be held on both these matters in London simultaneously with the Joint Select Committee discussions, and that selected representatives of Indian opinion will be specially invited to proceed to London for this purpose. This aspect of these two questions to which I have already referred, namely, that they are matters of direct interest to the Indian Legislature, has our full consideration, and in any selection of names to be put forward by the Government of India, this House may rest assured that the Government will recognise the interest of the legislature."

Security Services

Mr. Mudaliar maintained that contrary to the recomendations of the Sub-Committee that future security services, namely, Indian Civil and Police

Services—would be recruited by the Government of India, and not by the Secretary of State, the White Paper proposals definitely laid down that the powers for such services would be controlled by the Secretary of State. These provisions, continued Mr. Mudaliar, resulted in upsetting the whole scheme of responsible government both at the centre and the provinces. The controlling voice, over these two basic services, having been vested in the Secretary of State, it would render nugatory the powers of the popular Ministers, because the members of the services would be unremovable by them. He said that if the rule making power be vested in the Secretary of State it would reduce Provincial Autonomy to a farce; for, the Great Moghul would be able to force responsible ministers to reserve appointments to Europeans, a fact which has been the cause of so much trouble in the past.

Home Member's Intervention

The Home Member intervened to point out that the object of the provision under reference was to ensure the Local Government not to refuse to employ persons whom the Secretary of State required.

Mr. Mudaliar, proceeding took strong exception to the privileges of the present members in the services being extended to future entrants; perhaps this was so, because the Tories were afraid that the future socialist Secretary of State under pressure from India might agree to cut these privileges. Then, again, why is the Federal Government being deprived of the right to tax the interest on foreign securities and pensions payable in Britain at all time to come?

Statutory Railway Board

Regarding the Statutory Railway Board, he did not object to the establishment of such a board provided its members were appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of his ministers. He severely criticised the Indian members of the Executive Council for not having taken the public into confidence when making their suggestions for the first time in the course of their dispatch on the Simon Report.

Reserve Bank

Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar went on to criticise the provision, regarding the Reserve Bank. He wanted to know who was to decide when the Reserve Bank would be "unsuccessfully operating." He further wanted to ensure that the governing body of this Bank should be appointed by the Federal Government, and that this body should not be allowed to be dominated by any particular interest whether British, mercantile, agricultural, or political. Further, he failed to understand why the Governor-General required as many as three counsellors who would be a kind of cabal that would sit in to review over the administration of responsible Ministers and advise the Governor-General as to whether he should exercise special powers and therefore derogate from the responsibility of the Ministers. When the proposals went behind the decisions of the Round Table Conference on so many fundamentals, was there asked Mr. Mudaliar, any wonder, that the most moderate among the Indians got bewildered, and fought shy of the proposals contained in the White Paper?

Special Responsibility

Adverting to the question of the Governor having a control over the internal administration and the discipline of the Police Force thrust upon him as a special responsibility, Mr. Mudaliar said that though it had been agreed that the Crown Agent would interfere only in the case of a grave menace to the tranquility and peace of the country, he failed to see any

justification for the discipline of the internal administration of the Police being placed under this category. Further, why should the grant for the staff and Secretariat of the Governor-General be made non-votable? Why could not he be expected to obtain supplies for the purpose from a responsible legislature?

Sind Question.

Sind Hindus found a strong champion in Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, who saw no sense in the separation of Sind which would have to approach every year, with a beggar's bowl in the hand, the Federal Government for Rs. 80 lakhs subvention. The separation of Sind would be an act of great injustice and iniquity, which was resorted to, not in the interests of local Muslims, but in the interests of their co-religionists outside, who wanted to keep Sind as a hostage for political purposes. He characterised it as a part of pan-Islamic scheme. He complained how the British Government, who always posed as protectors of the interests of Minorities, had done a grave injustice to the Hindu Minority of Sind. Out of the five seats ear-marked for Sind in the Federal Assembly, only one was allocated to Hindus, who formed 27 per cent. of the total population. He demanded that at least one seat in the provincial cabinet should be reserved for Hindus, while one-third in the total expenses for education should be set apart for the benefit of Hindus.

The Whole Picture

Mr. H. P. Mody did not think that the occasion was one when members could indulge in rhetoric or rancour, but at the same time said that this was not an occasion for diplomacy either. He wanted to visualise the picture as a whole, but to obtain the correct perspective he would apply three tests:—

"To what extent does the constitution provide for the elimination of control by the Secretary of State in day-to-day administration of the country?

"What machinery is provided for the transfer of responsibility?"

"Thirdly, what hopes, for the moral and material progress of the country, does the new constitution offer?"

The "Great Moghul"

Mr. Mody condemned the idea of the "Great Moghul" controlling the day-to-day administration from 5,000 miles away. It was highly anomalous that there was meticulous interference by the Secretary of State, but the most objectionable feature was that this control was, in effect, maintained intact. As to the machinery for the transfer of responsibility to the people, Mr. Mody drew the attention of the House to the multifarious powers reserved for Governors and the Governor-General, while certain departments were reserved for them entirely. He criticised the grant of additional powers to the Governor-General for arresting the progress of and vetoing legislations. He maintained that while popular representatives in the Round Table Conference urged that the controlling and recruiting authority through the Public Service Commision should be identical with the Public Service Commission, the White Paper had entirely turned down this proposal.

Financial Safeguards

Referring to the conditions of material and moral progress, he mentioned the financial safeguards as the greatest impediments. He deplored the British Government's distrust in the Indian Finance Member; and reminded the Government of career of many Finance Members who had not

been clean. They have squandered crores and crores of India's money, specially by sale of reverse councils, arbitrary fixation of ratio, etc. Such being the case of the British Finance Members handling and mishandling India's finances, there was absolutely no justification as to why India's new Finance Minister should be subject to the overriding authority of the Governor-General. Mr. Mody frankly confessed to scepticism about the utility and near possibility of federation, because, it was made contingent on the establishment of a Reserve Bank, which was so dfficult of fulfilment in the present state of unstability of trade and commerce. He did not mind discrimination and safeguards; but, he said, they should not exist at the cost of national interests. The position of Ministers with one eye on the Governor-General and another on legislature would be simply untenable—he being subservient to the Governor-General.

More Safeguards Than Powers

Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daudi confessed that the White Paper contained more safeguards than powers for Indians, but he was inclined to ascribe the safeguards to communal acerbities of Indian public life. He blamed the Mahasabha for accentuating the situation, and warned the members against raking up old members, or attacking the Communal Award.

Mr. Anklesaria criticised the Indian delegates for agreeing to safeguards, but could not dream of charging the British Government with breach of faith. He maintained that the three conditions of federation, the safeguards, and separate electorates on which responsibility at the centre was based, were unacceptable to Indians. He was always opposed to the idea of federation with Princes, and apprehended the control of British Indian affairs by medieval autocrats. He added that, on their side too, the Princes were duped, and made to swallow the bait.

Special Powers

Mr. F. E. James, maintained that the special powers and responsibilities, proposed to be given to the Governor-General, would be used to prevent a break-down of the constitution or only in the case of a general rebellion. As far as residuary powers were concerned, many of them were at present intended to be vested in the Secretary of State, but even so he differed from Mr. Mudaliar's view that the Grand Moghul would not shift his headquarters from London to Delhi. He was sure that the exercise of these emergency powers would depend on the constitutional temperament of the parliamentary genius and tact and the courage of the Ministers. He quoted Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's opinion in support of his contention.

Touching upon commercial discrimination, he held that Englishmen did not claim any greater privilege than that accorded to Indian nationals in England. It was merely reciprocal.

Self-Development

Sir Hari Singh Gour wanted the new constitution to be such as would provide for self-development without having recourse to Parliament. He urged for the inclusion in the Constitution Act a preamble of the Declaration of 1917, as also that of Lord Irwin of 1930. He wished that the safeguards be limited in scope, and clearly defined in the Constitution Act. Undue rigidity of the safeguards would generate a hostile reaction in the country which was likely to impair the utility of the constitution.

Separate Electorates

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, in giving a history of the Round Table Conferences, the Minorities Pact, and explaining why Mahatma Gandhi wanted to give

Muslims a blank cheque, quoted Lord Morley, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Gokhale, Deshbandhu Das, Surendra Nath Banerjee and others to show that separate electorates for Muslims was a great necessity for the preservation of the community, as differences between them and the Hindus were rooted deep in their respective history and traditions. He blamed Mahatma Gandhi and the Sikh delegates, who had been to London, for the failure in regard to the communal settlement.

Dominion Status

Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy referred to the high hopes raised in the minds of Indians by Lord Irwin's pronouncement about India soon attaining the status of a Dominion. He detailed the history of how many front rank politicians in England, headed by the Church, had tried to explain away this pronouncement. Even the Bishop of Canterbury, in a House of Lords debate, had tried to whittle down the connotation of the phrase used by Lord Irwin and to India's great misfortune Lord Irwin, who was present at the time of the debate, did not protest. Yet others said that India was already a Dominion, being an original member of the League of Nations. All this was eye-wash. Then came a time when statements on India by British politicians studiously avoided any reference to Dominion Status. So India should no longer be deluded into thinking that she was getting anything of that sort.

Statutory Railway Board

Mr. K. C. Neogy, armed with his special knowledge of South African and Canadian constitutional laws governing railways, launched a severe attack on the proposal of a Statutory Railway Board. He recalled Sir George Rainy's assurance that popular control would be kept over the railways. The present proposal was smuggled by the Government into their dispatch on the Simon Commission, then into the Federal Structure Committee Report and finally into the White Paper. No chance had been given either to the Indian Legislature or the Round Table Conference to discuss the subject. Mr. Neogy therefore considered it a lamentable betrayal of trust. He demanded that a Statutory Board should be set up by a statute of this House and threw out a challenge to the Government if they dared to test the non-official opinion of the House on the point. The House agreed to substitute Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment in place of Sir B. L. Mitter's original motion.

The debate on the White Paper thus ended with the verdict that unless the proposals were substantially changed, peace and progress in the country would be impossible.

Financial Safeguards

Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar, first dealt with the financial and other safeguards. He asked what would be the function of the Financial Adviser and for how long the transition period would last. Was the Adviser to be an octopus, in whose tentacles the Finance Minister would be caught? The Finance Minister must have very little to do with the Financial Adviser regarding the framing of his proposals for submission to the legislature. Otherwise, he would make himself liable to the charge of being led by the Financial Adviser. Mr. Ranga Aiyar objected to the Services being controlled by the Secretary of State. Regarding Defence, he was agreeable to its being a reserved subject for the transition period, but the period must be fixed so that, at the end of it, it would automatically become transferred. Indianisation of the Army was essential, and he would even prefer temporary postponement of Indianisation of the Civil or the Police service for

the sake of hastening the pace of Indianisation of the Army, which was most important. As for safeguards, they were such as would bring about frequent clashes between the Governor-General or the Governor and the Ministers, reducing the constitution to a mockery.

An Examination

Mr. Joshi examined the White Paper from two standpoints, one whether the proposed constitution was likely to work smoothly, and secondly whether it would be conducive to the peace and contentment of people of India. For smooth working, he said, it was essential that the constitution should be based on trust and courage, while the proposals lacked both these principles, and the provision of so many safeguards showed that the British Government did not trust either British India or the Indian Princes. He referred to the stipulation that the entry of Princes was a condition precedent to the inauguration of Federation and warned the Government that all over the world revolts and revolutions were laid by the nobility. Mr. Joshi was in favour of safeguards provided they were of the nature of those prevalent all over the world. The Government were anxious to protect property, through a declaration of fundamental rights, but they made no mention about the poor labourer. He criticised the provisions regarding Defence and the Ecclesiastic Department and Excluded Areas. He pleaded for representation of railway men and third class passengers and the poor cultivator on the Railway Board. He was opposed to the Reserve Bank being excluded from political influences. The speaker also urged that wage-earning should be a qualification for voting. He wanted emigration and immigration between the units of the Federation to be a Federal subject and asked the Government to incorporate in the Fundamental Rights the right to work and to live of the worker.

Reforms Wholly Unsatisfactory

Mr. Amarnath Dutt moved an amendment, for adding the following to the original motion: "That the reforms were wholly unsatisfactory, unless the proposals were substantially amended, so as to make the Indian Government responsible to a Legislature composed of members, returned by a joint electorate without reservation of seats on the basis of race or religion from provinces constituted after the redistribution of boundaries on a racial, ethnological and geographical basis."

No Real Control

Sardar Sant Singh pointed out that the coming into power of a Tory Government had brought about a change in the Indian policy. Even while the Second Round Table Conference was sitting under the aegis of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the European Association in Bombay waited on the Governor, and chalked out a certain programme as to how to kill the Congress. Later, when Civil Disobedience started, Ordinances were promulgated on the lines suggested by the Associotion. The members who attended the last Round Table Conferenc brought with them 'safeguards' which were unacceptable to every right-minded Indian. If the proposals in the White Paper were given effect to the future Government of India would be without any real control over Finance, Law and Order, and India would be divided into warring communities.

Woman's Emancipation

Sir Henry Gidney asserted that in the emancipation of women lay the future of India. The treatment accorded to women was very disappointing altogether. In regard to Federation, he still stuck to his 1930 opinion, when

he said that Federation was a leap in the dark. Sir Henry Gidney spoke at length regarding the minorities, and pleaded for a Minister with a Minorities Portfolio in the Central Government. He welcomed the provision of safeguards from that standpoint.

Sir Henry felt that the provision regarding the Services was the only black spot in the White Paper and if India was going to pay for the services, it was just that she must have the right of say. He pleaded for the appointment of a committee to settle the question of Medical Services in India. He welcomed the provision for a Statutory Railway Board. He said that so long as they worked constitutionally the new constitution, and kept out the extremists there was hope for India.

Waste Paper

Dr. De Souza characterised the White Paper as waste paper, containing an unnatural combination of autocracy and democracy. There was no doubt that safeguards had been framed in the interest of the Paramount Power responsible to British Parliament, and it would not be long before it was realised that the new constitution could not stand the strain of continuous pinpricks. However, he did not take the safeguards contained in the White Paper seriously. The only test was whether the source of power had been actually transferred to the Indian electorate. It was so delicately poised that he doubted the success of the Federal constitution as at present suggested. The speaker suggested that the Princes' participation be restricted in the Federal legislature only to questions of Paramountcy and such like matters which affected them. As regards the services, as an ex-Civilian, he feared that they would be subjected to two masters namely, Ministers and the Secretary of State.

Retrograde

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh thought that reservation of one-third of the posts of High Court Judges for I.C.S. was retrograde. Referring to the provision for Anglo-Indian education, he asked why no similar provision was made in respect of other minorities. The policy of political mendicancy never brought self-government to any country, and unless the White Paper was modified lock, stock and barrel, there was no use spending money in sending out an Indian deputation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

"Wide and Vague"

Mian Shah Nawaz observed that the special powers of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State and the Provincial Governors were very wide and vague. The Governor might not ordinarily interfere, but there was no guarantee that they would not. Further, there was no indication that safeguards would be for the transitory period only. Referring to Mr. Butler's speech in the Commons, that the ultimate power of recruitment would be with Parliament, he said that it was most disappointing. The Financial Safeguards proposed were most pernicious and the speaker hoped that the Joint Select Committee would do away with the Financial Adviser. As regards three counsellors, he suggested that there should be only two, one of whom should be an Indian. This concluded the debate.

ASSEMBLY'S VERDICT

Unless the proposals for constitutional reform are substantially amended in the direction of conceding greater responsibility and freedom of action to the people's representatives in the central and provincial spheres

of Government, it will not be possible to ensure peace and contentment and progress of the country.

The above was the verdict passed on March 31st by the Legislative Assembly, when it concluded the debate on the White Paper and carried the amendment of Sir Abdur Rahim, (Leader of the Opposition) to this effect, the amendment taking the place of the original motion moved by the Leader of the House, that the House do consider the White Paper.

IN COUNCIL OF STATE

Sir Fazli Hussain, Leader of the House, moved on March 27th that the White Paper, containing proposals for Indian constitutional reform be taken into consideration. Sir Fazli Hussain stated that for nine days the Paper had been before the public. Now was the time for the Council to express opinion. The occasion was an important event in the effort for constitution making for India. Hence the discussion would be calm, in concise language and not merely political.

Retrograde

Rai Bahadur Mathuraprasad Mahrotra had an amendment to the Government resolution, describing the White Paper proposals as retrograde, conferring no substantial powers to the people and a full limitation of safeguards not in the interests of India and hence likely to aggravate feelings of discontent in the country. He did not move this amendment in view of the Government decision not to participate in the debate. He described it as the proverbial mouse after the mountain had been in labour. It did not contain any scheme of Self-Government.

Firstly, the Secretary of State's powers remained over a large sphere of administration. His Council, instead of being abolished, was only slightly reduced in number, but the powers of the Secretary of State continued practically undiminished.

In the Provinces there was to be no autonomy but only the Governor's autocracy by reason of special powers and ministers who would be responsible to the legislature would have no control over the "Steel Frame."

Recruitment to All-India services would continue to remain in the hands of the Secretary of State and a Commission would be appointed only in 1940 to consider its future position.

No Central Responsibility

In the Central Government there would be no responsibility because, firstly, the federation must come into being, then the Reserve Bank and other conditions should be fulfilled. Here, as in the provinces, powers with the head of the administration to issue ordinances remained and there would be thus unrelieved autocracy.

A Compromise

Rai Bahadur Jagdish Prasad referred to the election of the Council of State in the Federal Legislature and suggested a compromise between the direct and indirect systems. He thought that, while elections should be made by the Provincial Councils to the Council of State, persons selected should possess high property qualifications or pay a higher income tax than those sent to the local Councils. He supported the inclusion of fundamental rights and, as for safeguards, wanted them not in the common interests of both England and India, but demonstrably in the interests of India as promised in the Irwin-Gandhi Pact.

Regarding the Federation he objected to no time being fixed and the Federation itself being made conditional on so many factors. Incidentally, he expressed the conviction of a considerable section of people that the presence of the Princes might be used to serve as a brake on the progress of British India and he demanded that it should be made clear that the Princes' bloc should not be used for voting on non-Federal matters.

Alluding to the army, he wanted to know if the Army Minister would be an Indian at all, quite apart from the fact that army expenditure would be non votable.

"Guarantee of Good Government"

Mr. Miller said that the White Paper was merely an official view as to the form of the future constitution that India should take, resulting from the three Round Table Conferences. Now, while all might have their little grievances and disappointments, he thought it was not the proper time nor place to discuss them. The description of the White Paper as a black paper was merely a journalistic catch-phrase. In fact, it was still capable of being amended according to the spirit in which it was accepted, and, therefore, its value might be assessed at an almost unlimitted amount. Only goodwill and mutual trust could achieve that object. Every one had safeguards, and the special powers given to the Governor-General and the Governors were mostly for use in case of an emergency, and they were imposed just as much for the safety of Indians as the British. They could be welcomed as a guarantee of good Government, and as being necessary for the welfare of Indians and British alike. It was inconceivable that they would not be sparingly used. If they were not, then it would only go to prove that India was not yet ripe for Self-Government.

The Way to the Goal

Considering the progress made since the Minto-Morley Reforms in a country like India, which moved slowly, the pace could only be described as rapid, and anything more speedy would have spelt disaster. He appealed to all those who really had the future good of the country at heart, to take what was offered in a good spirit, and settle down to working the new Constitution successfully. That was the only way to reach the final goal of full Self-Government.

"Make a United Demand"

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, speaking for the Landed interests, viewed with satisfaction the provision of a Second Chamber in his own province. Although the rights of property would come under Fundamental Rights, still landlords felt very strongly the need for more effective protection. He hoped that the Joint Parliamentary Committee would meet their claims, and remove a great injustice to the landed community at large. Speaking generally on the White Paper, the speaker frankly stated that the proposals were neither the substance of independence as demanded by Mr. Gandhi, nor Dominion Status. However no amount of condemnation of the White Paper would be of any use for the present, and the best thing they could do was to gather their strength and make a united demand.

Inadequate

Mr. Hussain Imam observed that the inadequacy of the White Paper proposals was due to the disunity among Indians. He opposed indirect election to the Upper House and said that if direct election for all constituencies was not possible, it should be given at least to the Muslim constituencies. The speaker expressed disappointment over the army expen-

diture being outside the vote of the Legislature, and suggested that at least the expenditure on the eight units should be made votable, as a beginning in the direction of making the Army an increasing concern of Indians. The Army was no doubt efficient, but there were many branches which were obsolete, while the Air Force required to be brought up-to-date. For this, a defence fund should be instituted to which the States should be asked to contribute a fixed share. At present, according to the White Paper scheme, Indian States would not spend even a farthing and yet enjoy the fruits of the Federation and have a controlling voice in the Federal administration. As for responsibility at the Centre, it appeared to be a far-off cry, what with the conditions as to Federation, exportable surplus and the successful working of the Reserve Bank.

A Cruel Mockery

Mr. Nripendra Narayan Sinha said that the White Paper was nothing but a cruel mockery of India's long cherished desires, for there was no mention either of a period during which the proposed constitution would last or of the form of Constitution that would follow upon its heels. Not a vestige of power had been transferred in all matters where self-government really counted. Financial control by popular Ministers in the Federal Assembly was bound to be quite illusory so long as eighty per cent of India's revenues was swallowed by the Reserved side of the Administration. The Joint Parliamentary Committee should sift the future relations between the Counsellors and Ministers in the Central Government, with a view to removing all causes of friction, Ministers should have the fullest control over Commerce and Industry, while the Counsellors might advise the Governor-General over Defence, Finance and External Relations. Referring to landlords' representation, the speaker complained of paucity of the same in the Federal Legislature, and said it should grow in proportion to the increase in the total strength of the Legislature. The Poona Pact over Depressed Classes' representation has done harm to Bengal, and the speaker wanted the Joint Select Committee to examine the proposals carefully.

Stone for Bread

Mr. Jagadish Banerji said: "The White Paper has belied our hopes, and blackened our outlook for Swaraj. Having cried for bread, we get a stone." The powers of the Governor-General and the Provincial satraps, he maintained, in respect of promulgating ordinances favourably compared with the powers of the Czar. There might be people to work the reforms, for all their worth, but the majority of Indians would not touch them even with a pair of tongs. The scheme was qualified and hedged in with so many limitations, namely, safeguards and 'special responsibilities', which were opposed to the interests of India. Speaking on the representation in the Federal Assembly, Mr. Banerji deplored that the Bengal quota from the general constituency was only ten 'plus' three depressed class members as against seventeen Muslims. He also complained that the Bengal landholders' claim in the Central Assembly had been inadequately met. Characterising indirect election to the Federal Council of State as antediluvian, he emphatically protested against the unfair and unjust allocation of seats.

"Conquer by Compliance"

Mr. Khaparde found the White Paper acceptable to nobody, but it was not wise to throw it out after spending time and money on the three conferences and several committees. He was perfectly aware of the defects

in it, but in the present circumstances, they had to accept gracefully what was given and fight for more. He advocated Mr. Tilak's principle of responsive co-operation and not the fantastic ideas of Civil Disobedience or passive resistance, both of which weapons had failed to help them so far. What they should do was to conquer by compliance.

Disappointed

Nawab Habibullah of Dacca expressed disappointment in that the White Paper did not give one-third of the number of seats for Muslims in the Legislative Assembly. He was opposed to an Upper Chamber in the Provinces. He preferred a straight measure of Self-Government to the present scheme based on Federation, which was not possible of achievement, as British India could not federate with States, unless both were equal partners. He, however, thought that the safeguards proposed were necessary, because by their own differences and divisions, they had strengthened the party of Mr. Churchill.

Liberal Party's Views

Mr. G. A. Natesan gave expression to the Liberal party's views, and quoted largely from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru regarding the need for changes to make the scheme acceptable by India. He wanted India to be no longer governed from the White-hall but from Delhi, based on the trust and confidence of the people and their faith in the ability of Indians to manage their own affairs, and not on distrust, as was evident in many of the safeguards contained in the White Paper proposals. India ought not to be made a victim to party politics in England. The discontent in India was deep, and Britain's duty was to avert India from becoming another Ireland.

Advising the Government in England to take courage in both hands and do justice to India, Mr. G. A. Natesan subjected the scheme proposed in the White Paper to four tests, namely, defence, services, powers of the legislature over the Executive and financial control, and declared that the scheme could not stand any of these tests. Referring to the Services, Mr. Natesan remarked that it was tantamount to this that, until the last Britisher in the I.C.S., retired, the Indian Government could not have real control over its services. Alluding to Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the House of Commons that the scheme in the White Paper was a new instalment of constitutional progress, Mr. Natesan remarked that it was a fall from the ideal of Dominion Status. As the Maharaja of Darbhanga had rightly observed, the scheme contained neither the substance of independence that the Congrss wanted, nor Dominion Status which the Indian Moderate opinion desired.

"Improve It"

Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetty opined that in no country had political reforms given universal satisfaction. Though the White Paper was not free from defects, it was their duty now to endeavour to improve it. The Mont-Ford scheme, when it was introduced, came in for a good deal of criticism and one school of political thought actually boycotted it. Now the British Government were determined to give full Responsible Government, thus redeeming the pledges given from time to time, and he hoped the Joint Select Committee, would be able to remedy most of the defects and make the superstructure outlined in the White Paper satisfactory.

European Advice

Sir Edward Benthall (Calcutta European) detected in the debate a desire to accept the scheme and make a few alterations thereto. The pro-

posals were an advance over uncontrolled autocracy in as much as democracy would normally predominate but autocracy would step in on occasions of emergency following the example of many other countries. The Safeguards were for emergencies and he for one, had faith in the ability of Indians to manage their own affairs. India possessed a loyalist body of services and under the new constitution they would be recruited by the Secretary of State for some years, when there was to be an enquiry. When the present irresponsible Opposition took possession of the Treasury Benches, they would have at their command the efficiency and experience of servicemen. He urged Indians to see that as they rode on the triumphal way to self-government they did not swap horses. It was for the Ministers, five years after the new constitution came into operation, to advise what sort of alterations in the proposals were required in respect of the services. Regarding Federation, Sir E. Benthall said that it was upto India to see that obstacles to Federation were removed. As for the attitude of the British Government on this matter, they were doing their best to persuade the Princes to join the Federation. It was open to British India also to do the same. As for financial safeguards, he said His Majesty's Government could not control world forces but they had done a good deal towards stability.

IN PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

BENGAL

The discussion on the proposals contained in the White Paper began on the 22nd March in the Bengal Legislative Council.

"Vitiated"

Mr. J. N. Gupta who first spoke said it was evident that unless the scheme outlined in the White Paper was materially changed and liberalised, it would not succeed in securing for the future Government that form of strength which was based on the willing partnership and co-operation of the people for the simple reason that the proposals seemed to be vitiated by a deep distrust of the capacity and patriotism of the Indian people.

Fair Proposal

Mr. W. H. Thompson on behalf of the European group remarked that the White Paper was a fair and evenly balanced list of proposals. Referring to the necessity of "Emergency Powers," he said to omit them was to expect disorders when political machine was out of order. Safeguards, he thought, were necessary but they eliminated the possibility of misunderstanding afterwards if everything was put in black and white. To make the new venture a success, so far as the province of Bengal was concerned, they must start provincial autonomy on a sound financial basis.

Provincial Autonomy

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin was one of those who laid great stress on the establishment of Provincial Autonomy as early as possible even if the future Government was delayed. During last decade they had enough of political turmoil, all constructive work had been held up and the Government of the country was simply drifting. The average man was tired of all this political strife and disgusted with the existing state of things. The proposed constitution was no doubt full of defects but it was no use obstructing it. They should make one more attempt to remove what was considered to be the most objectionable features of the constitution with the hope that the Joint Parliamentary Committee would yield to their repre-

sentation. If the Committee removed these defects the country would be satisfied. But even if nothing was done, they should try to work the constitution in the best interest of the country trusting to the future for the gradual removal of their grievances.

One Supreme Test

Mr. Shyamaprosad Mukherjee said that he would like to apply one supreme test to the proposals contained in the White Paper: The test was —did these proposals confer upon the representatives of the people of this country real and substantial powers to control their own affairs without any undue external interference? Judged by this test, he believed, the concensus of opinion, so far as the Indian members of the House were concerned, was that the proposals were of an unsatisfactory nature. It was indeed remarkable that up till now not a single politician of any repute, not a single public organisation of any standing had come forward to support in general the proposals which were contained in the White Paper. Amidst acute differences amongst themselves this unanimity of opinion was indeed a remarkable thing. What were the general features so far as the general recommendations were concerned? Did not many of the proposals display a lack of trust—almost fundamental and deep-rooted in India and in the Indians' capacity to govern their own country? Mr. Thompson said that in many countries safeguards were essential. But here those safeguards had got to be scrcutinised from the point of view of Indian interest. The quest on which they had got to ask themselves was whether those safeguards were necessary for the purpose of protecting the interests of the people of this country or they were necessary for the purpose of protecting the British interests? In the Gandhi-Irwin Pact it was stated that the safeguards to be acceptable would be in the best interest of India and that was the standard which it was their duty to apply while judging the safeguards.

The Only Weapon

Concluding Mr. Mukherjee said: "Your only weapon is repression. But greater the repression, the greater is the consolidation of public opinion in this country. The greater the repression, the greater is the bitterness and hatred in the minds of the Indian people. But is that desirable? The choice was before them and the choice has been taken. I appeal to all sections of the House, so far as Indian members are concerned, to sink our differences and to forget even the Communal Award for the time being. Let us sit together and formulate a definite scheme which we can send to His Majesty's Government through the Government of Bengal. We want concerted action if we have to fight against the present menace."

Vital Question

Mr. J. N. Basu said that the vital question of establishment of responsibility at the Centre had been passed over by stating that partial responsibility would be established after certain preliminaries had been fulfilled, namely the entry of a certain proportion of the Indian States into a Federation with the British Provinces and the establishment of a Reserve Bank under certain conditions. "Such an attitude," proceeded Mr. Basu "is another mistake on the part of Britain in her relations with India. Those that have lived in this country amongst all sections of the people from Ruling Princes down to the labourer and the peasant know the strength of the desire for self-rule that animates them all, and also know that the spirit of distrust of Britain and dissatisfaction of the present order of things have steadily spread wider and deeper and have become organised to an extent not thought of about thirty

years ago. That spread of dissatisfaction and the organisation of it are factors which the Government of Britain does not appear to have taken into account."

Official Motion

Following the debate the House accepted the special motion of the Hon. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice: "That the Council take into consideration the proposals for Indian constitutional reform published by His Majesty's Government in the White Paper and recommend to the Government that the proceedings be forwarded to the Government of India for the information of His Majesty's Government and also for consideration of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee."

Second Chamber

In the course of his speech, referring to the creation of a Second Chamber for Bengal, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar observed that a Second Chamber for Bengal could only justify itself if it was differently constituted than the Lower House and if it was made to crystallise the views of a body of men of capacity and experience and of those who had a considerable stake in the country. It was on these grounds that a considerable body of opinion in this House had supported the case of an Upper Chamber. A non-communal Upper House would have been a valuable contribution to the democratic constitution of the province. But that was not to be. The scheme outlined in the White Paper was a mere duplication of the communally constituted Lower House. He hoped that the Joint Select Committee would realise the error in time and would provide at least one sphere in provincial politics where things could not be discussed with anything less than communal bias.

Unsatisfactory

Mr. N. K. Basu, reminded the House of the resolutions that had been passed in the Legislative Assembly as well as in the Provincial Councils, specially in Bihar, and there they had all deplored the unsatisfactory nature of the proposals contained in the White Paper. They had all condemned it and said that unless the scheme was substantially modified, it would not satisfy public opinion in India.

"I need hardly remind you," proceeded Mr. Basu, "of the promise made by the late Viceroy, Lord Irwin in his declaration in the Legislative Assembly with regard to the Dominion Status. I need hardly remind you of the words used by the chamelion-like Prime Minister who has been always changing his political utterances in the course of the last few years. Where are those promises now ? Is there any indication of Dominion Status in this precious document called the White Paper ? Not a word of Dominion Status in all the 120 pages of this precious book."

Optimism

Mr. J. L. Banerji remarked that except for one circumstances they would work the constitution inspite of all its defects. The only weak point in the structure, he said, was the provision relating to the control of the services by the Secretary of State. But he believed that common sense, equity and justice would prevail and the provinces would be able to exercise control over the services.

As for safeguards, he said, he was ashamed to confess that many of the safeguards had been dictated by their own weakness and inherent distrust of one community over the other. But in every constitution there must be extraordinary powers vested in the head of the Executive but simply because the powers were there, it did not mean that those powers would be used. The

King of England, for instance, even to-day possessed extraordinary powers, but he would not venture to exercise them for fear of public opinion, and the same must be the case with them here.

"Welcome"

Mr. E. T. MacCluskie on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community welcomed the White Paper as it showed that the British people seemed to have made an honest effort in trying to meet the demand of the intelligentsia for self-government. It was a leap in the dark and it remained to be seen whether the system would turn out to be productive of the good anticipated.

Financial Settlement

Mr. E. Lockhart said that without proper financial settlement such reforms would be a mockery. But even if there was financial settlement, the value of the reforms might be nullified by the refusal to work. In the face of the present Congress policy could His Majesty's Government or the British people be blamed if they insisted so much on safeguards ? That policy persisting and the Congress remaining the only organised political body in the country, he feared, that they would capture the seats in the provinces once the ban on the Congress was removed and in that case the introduction of the reforms would be nothing less than waste of money. Their hopes however lay in the fact that the policy of the Congress did not and could not commend itself to all sections of the Congress, let alone all the Hindus. They were further strengthened by the knowledge that that policy was repudiated by the vast majority of the Moslems. Nevertheless, the fact remained that so far as the Hindus were concerned, the Congress was the only organised political body. He believed that a considerable transference of power was foreshadowed in the White Paper and it was certain that the success of the scheme depended entirely on the assumption that the reforms would be worked in a spirit of co-operation. If that spirit was not forthcoming, failure could be the only result.

"Grievously Mortified"

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said that the reason why they were disappointed with the White Paper was that in trying to adjust the various differences, it had leaned more extravagantly towards the interests of the British Group. If he was to voice the feeling of Moslem India, he must say that they were grievously disappointed and mortified at the suggestions put forward. In his opinion the safeguards would defeat themselves in their operations.

Distinct Improvement

Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahaman said that inspite of all safeguards and the prerogative powers of the Governor the proposed constitution was a distinct improvement over the present constitution, and certainly they would be in a better position to do good to their country if they only had the will to do so.

Home Member's Winding Up

Winding up the debate the Home Member referred to the criticism against the creation of the Upper Chamber. The Home Member said that he did not know whether it was realised this Upper Chamber would give an opportunity to the people of Bengal, when the communal feeling passed away and national feeling took its place, to substitute nationalism or party principle for communalism. With regard to the question of Services he pointed out that the provision as regards the existing members of the Service had been based on the recommendations of the sub-committee of the Round Table Conference. As regards the future Services there was to be at the expiration

of five years from the commencement of the Constitution Act a statutory enquiry. The dispute then was with regard to the people who would be recruited during the interval of five years. With these observations he asked the House to accept his motion.

The motion, as stated, was accepted.

BOMBAY COUNCIL

On March 23rd Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah (Leader of the House) moved.

" That this Council do proceed to discuss the White Paper on Indian Constitution Reforms, issued by His Majesty's Government."

A Vigorous Condemnation

Mr. R. R. Kale (Leader of the Opposition) promptly launched a vigorous condemnation of the White Paper. According to him the proposals of that document were conceived in a spirit of distrust. He complained that Lord Irwin's promise of maximum self-rule and minimum of deductions possible from Dominion Status had not been carried out in spirit. The proposals offered nothing like real responsibility and power in the centre and anything like real autonomy in the provinces.

The Substance of Independence

Leaving aside the extreme demand of the " substance of independence " there was not in them even the substance of self-Government. The lowest expectations of the country were full and unfettered responsible government in the provinces, central responsibility which included control over the purse, the right of the legislature to determine matters of currency and exchange and all industrial and commercial matters and an increasing share of responsibility and control over the army and defence; central responsibility to be introduced simultaneously with provincial autonomy and lastly, safeguards for a fixed transitional period, demonstrably in the interests of India.

Financial Scheme

Coming to the question of financial arrangements, Mr. Kale said that finance was the key to the working of the whole machinery of government, be it autonomy or autocracy. The proposals in that behalf were yet in a somewhat nebulous condition and were incomplete. The White Paper had not given any consideration to the pressing need of the reduction of expenditure of the All India Services and the means of curtailing the military budget. It not only did not achieve this end but in a way blocked the path of early reform in this direction.

Army Indianisation

Dealing with the question of Indianisation of the army, he said that it was time they realised the futility of liberalising the political constitution so long as official opinion in that respect refused to evolve. It was no use merely having an increase in the Indian personnel. There should be complete Indianisation of the forces in all branches and arms and a definite period should be fixed for the completion of this process. The recruitment must extend to all provinces and to all communities without distinction.

No Mention of Dominion Status

Maulvi Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed, while associating himself with the remarks made by the Leader of the Opposition in regard to the proposals relating to the financial arrangements and while also emphasising the fact that there

was no mention of Dominion Status in the White Paper felt that the progress of India would not suffer merely because the constitution was unsound. In his view the future progress of the country would not be blocked unless " reactionary spirit " manifested itself in the form of civil disobedience. If the members of the civil services were actuated by a real spirit of friendship towards India and by a genuine desire to lead India to responsible government, their march to the goal would be much smoother.

Total Negation

Mr. J. B. Petit said that the proposals contained in the White Paper revealed a total absence of statesmanship and a lamentable lack of imagination on the part of the British Government equalled only by the unrighteous attitude towards this country in the past. On every single point the proposals were a negation not only of the fundamentals of self-government but also of the basic principles repeatedly laid down by the Premier and other responsible officers of the Crown, embodying an authentic statement of the views of His Majesty's Government.

Everything Remote

Mr. V. N. Jog stated that Responsible government was entirely dependent on federation. The possibility of a federation materialising was as remote as ever since the formation of a Reserve Bank was laid down as a condition precedent to the advent of federation. Again the budgetary position so essential to the smooth working of a federation could never be assured until and unless the services were Indianised and brought under the control of Indians. Further, the powers of the Governor-General were so wide and so numerous as to practically deprive the future legislatures of all their powers to a mere zero. Finally there was no provision for the automatic advance of the constitution even in the future.

More Irresponsibility

Mr. N. E. Navle (Deputy President) declared that the proposals contained in the White Paper did not come upto the expectation of the majority of the politically-minded people of this country not even the moderates. The proposals vested more power in the Governor-General and the Governors, than now, thus making them more irresponsible to the provincial legislatures.

"Most Unsatisfactory"

Shaikh Abdul Majid Lilaram (Sind) characterised the proposals as "most unsatisfactory and inadequate." He was of the opinion that unless the communal problem was settled satisfactorily, it would be difficult to convince the world at large that Indians merited better treatment at the hands of England. He also dwelt at length on the differential treatment meted out to Baluchistan and asked why such a virile people like the Baluchis should not be given a voice in the Government of their province.

Rights of Labour

Mr. R. R. Bakhale (of the Servants of India Society) speaking from the labour point of view stated that the list of the powers to be conferred upon the Governors and the Governor-General was so formidable that it was difficult to find out whether the White Paper was going to take India from bureaucratic government to democratic government or whether it was going to take the country from bureaucracy to autocracy. The White Paper ignored the fundamental rights of labour. On the question of franchise it was most disappointing. There was no provision for automatic expansion in that respect. As regards the powers of the legislatures to pass labour legisla-

tion and enforce international obligations, and to make provisions for social insurance and promotion of labour interests, the White Paper was exceedingly unsatisfactory.

Goal More Distant

Mr. G. K. Chitale said that the Montford Reforms laid down that the goal for India was self-Government. India was given a seat in the League of Nations on the understanding that she would soon become a self-Governing Dominion. But the proposals contained in the White Paper not only made that goal more distant than ever but actually blocked the road to all progress.

Local Autonomy

Mr. H. M. Rahimtoola complained of inadequacy of Muslim representation in the future Councils. He also stated that the White Paper made no mention of the relations between provincial Governments and local bodies. The provincial Governments should not encroach upon the jurisdiction of the local bodies. He also stressed the necessity of giving protection to Indian industries.

Outcome of Distrust

Mr. Md. Cassum Mitha opined that the White Paper proposals were the outcome of continued distrust amongst Indians themselves. He hoped that the majority community would realise it. He complained that, with the exception of a few provinces like Sind, Bengal and the N. W. F., Muslims would not be able to raise their voice. They would not get justice in those Provinces where they were in a minority. As such, the White Paper, he said, was most unacceptable to Muslims.

Blank Paper

Dr. M. D. Gilder characterised the White Paper as a most disappointing document. "The fundamental rights of 350 millions occupy twenty lines!" he ejaculated. "It is called a White Paper because it is a blank paper; there is nothing new in it." He also spoke at length on the All-India medical service. The Sub-Committee appointed at the R. T. C. had recommended that the controlling authority should be the Government of India, whereas the Bombay Government had recommended that the power should be vested in the Provincial Governments. Now, the White Paper vested the control and recruitment in the Secretary of State.

Agriculturists

Mr. A. N. Surve regretted that adequate provision has not been made in the White Paper to ensure representation of the interests of agricultural labour in the legislatures. He wanted that provision should be made for their proper representation at least in the Provincial Councils. He also wanted a thorough revision of the franchise qualifications from the point of view of the representation of the masses. It ought to be the primary duty of any Government to see that every section and interest of the population was represented in the legislature.

A Marked Advance

Sir Reginald Spence was of opinion that the White Paper marked an advance, which had come sooner than was expected. Lord Minto, he said, would never have dreamt that any (British) Radical would possibly go beyond the Morley-Minto scheme of reform. The failure of the Montford Reforms was due to the existence of a body of men in the Assembly who were determined not to work that constitution for the benefit of India,

and to get as much good out of the reforms. "In the opinion of the European community," he declared, "the White Paper is not the final settlement, but is to form the basis of a settlement which we hope would be astisfactory to all. The White Paper marks a definite advance. Let us accept it as such and remember that progress cannot stand still and that, if we accept the White Paper and try to get the best we can out of it, there will be further progress which we and all those who love India desire."

Plea For Unity

Dr. J. A. Alban De Souza attributed the blame to disunion amongst the various classes in India, and declared that if the Musalmans, the Depressed classes, the Backward classes, Parsis, Anglo-Indians and the rest all stood on one common platform and demanded Dominion Status with one united voice, then as sure as day follows night, Dominion Status would come.

60,000 Prisoners

Dr. M. K. Dixit (Surat) expressed great regret that 60,000 prisoners were still lying behind prison bars. What little the White Paper did contain, was due to the political pressure exercised by selfless and self-reliant men and women in the country; whether they were misguided or well-guided, did not matter. What little political reform was given from time to time was due to Congress agitation. The British Government moved in consonance with the intensity of the political agitation in India.

Culminating Point

Mr. Pestansha N. Vakil said that the White Paper was the culminating point of the policy to which India had been accustomed for the last 3 years since the advent of the "National" Government in Britain. Ever since the "National" Government came into power the vision of self-government for India had been receding into the background. Indian representatives, including Mahatma Gandhi, had gone to the Round Table Conference and thrashed out intricate questions of politics and had arrived at certain agreed conclusions. If these conclusions found no place in the White Paper, the Indian representatives were hardly to be blamed.

Official Assurance

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Leader of the House, stated that Government had decided not to participate in the debates. He however assured the House that the proceedings of the debate would be forwarded to the proper authorities.

MADRAS COUNCIL

Revenue Member's Motion

On March 23rd the Hon. Sir Archibald Campbell moved:

"That the Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reforms, contained in the White Paper published on the 18th March 1933, be taken into consideration."

Sir Archibald Campbell said that the object in making that resolution was to give facilities to the House for the discussion of the reforms proposed in the White Paper. He did not propose to take up the time of the House in summarising or referring to details of the proposals. He then indicated to the House the attitude that was going to be adopted by the official members towards the amendments notice of which had been given. The members of the Executive Council and other official members, he said, would not vote on any amendment. The Ministers would vote as

they pleased; and in that way any resolution carried in the House would embody the views purely of the non-official members of the House and those views would be communicated to the Secretary of State. Proceeding, Sir Archibald Campbell said that they had gone a long way since the famous announcement of the late Mr. Montagu in 1917 in the House of Commons outlining the policy of His Majesty's Government with reference to the Indian constitution. Since then they had the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms; and the Statutory Commission, which made a very valuable report on the position in India and the proposals for transfer of power. There were then three sessions of the Round Table Conference and the reports of Committees appointed in consequence of the recommendations of the Round Table Conference. Now, they had the White Paper embodying the proposals of His Majesty's Government, which they had placed before Parliament. He supposed that at no time had such an attempt to solve the difficult and complicated problem of framing a constitution for India, been made as that which His Majesty's Government had undertaken, —a constitution for a vast population, with such diverse races and creeds, and with such conflicting interests. He was sure they were all grateful to all those Indians and Europeans who had devoted so much time and trouble, so much study and thought to the solution, he repeated, of the very difficult and complicated problem of a Federal Constitution for India. From the number and the general tenor of amendments which had been tabled for consideration to-day, there was no doubt that the members of the House appreciated in full the importance of that great occasion, a unique and historical occasion, when it was invited to record its views for the consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the proposals for the future constitution of India.

The Hon. Sir M. Krishnan Nair seconded the motion.

AN ALL-PARTIES AMENDMENT

Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Leader of the Opposition, next moved the following amendment:

Add at the end the following:

"On such consideration this Council is of opinion that the proposals in the White Paper are not satisfactory and the following alterations should at least be made in the Bill to be placed before Parliament:—

Army Member

1. The Army Member should be chosen from among the members of the Central Legislature.

2. As the safeguards proposed go much further than the interest of India they should be greatly restricted.

Transitory Provisions

That in the event of All-India Federation not being introduced immediately, this Council is of opinion that Government must introduce immediate Responsible Self-Government in the Provinces and in the Centre of British India as a preliminary to and preparation for All-India Federation on the lines indicated in the White Paper with such modifications as suggested above.

Provincial

1. The power of legislation given to the Governor by Acts should be removed and that the power to make Ordinances should be exercised only in consultation with the Ministers and subject to revision by the Legislature.

2. The Governor's power of certification of items of budget disallowed by Legislature should be removed.

Services

All the services be recruited in India by the Federal Government for federal purposes and by the Provincial Govrnment for Provincial purposes. In the case of expert service recruitment may be made outside India on short term service.

General

This Council is of opinion that there should not be a Statutory Railway Board and the Central Government should manage the Railways under the same conditions as other Departments of Government."

Not Satisfactory

Speaking on the motion proper, Dr. Subbaroyan said that there was no doubt that His Majesty's Government had sincerely devoted their attention to the vexed problem of constitution for India and had done their best under the conditions existing to-day. Having carefully read the White Paper there was a feeling in him that His Majesty's Government had two difficulties; they had to satisfy the reactionary elements in their own country who had cried aloud against advancing Indian interests. Secondly they had to consider the opinion in India which in many cases had been extreme. And they had tried their best to see whether those two extreme points of view could not meet in the proposals they had made. But there was no getting away from the fact that the proposals, as they stood to-day, though sincerely put forward for the solution of the problem, did not satisfy the national aspirations of this country.

Dr. Subbaroyan said that the amendment he proposed did not go further than what was asked by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the Round Table Conference in its third session. The safeguards went very much further than the needs of the situation demanded. Even though they might be willing in the transitional period that the Governor-General should possess such powers as necessary to prevent a break-down of the constitution, they felt that such power should be so restricted that it would not curtail responsibility which would be placed in the hands of the Ministers and the legislature. It would be seen from the proposals themselves that it was not an easy matter to introduce All-India Federation immediately. They could quite understand that there were difficulties in the way of such introduction, because, as had been postulated in the document, at least fifty per cent of the States, in matters of territory, population and finance, should come in before the Federation could come into being. But the transitory provision for the introduction of provincial autonomy, would not satisfy the aspirations of India, because mere provincial autonomy without Central Responsibility would not be sufficient to satisfy such aspirations as he had often said, provincial autonomy without central responsibility, would be a truncated form of dyarchy. He would appeal to His Majesty's Government that if Federation was found to be impossible at the present moment, they should introduce central responsibility in British India, leaving the door open for the Princes to come in.

Provincial Governments

With regard to Provincial Governments, Dr. Subbaroyan said that the proposals in the White Paper fell far short even of the recommendations of the Simon Commission. Even under the present Government of India Act, the Governor had no power of interference with regard to transferred subjects. The proposals in the White Paper would not lead to real respon-

sibility of the Ministry to the legislature because they could always come to the House and say that even though they had objection to such and such a thing being done, in the matter of the Budget, the Governor had deemed it necessary to make other proposals. Hence the amendment not to give any power to the Governor of legislation by Acts and of restoration of grants in the Budget was disallowed by legislature.

Services

Lastly, Dr. Subbaroyan dealt with the proposals relating to the Services. He reiterated his view that the autonomous Government should have the power to recruit their services in whatever way they liked, the only restriction being that there should be a public service commission to advise the Government in such recruitment. The very idea of responsible Government, he said, would be nullified if services were superimposed on the autonomous Government from outside. There was no objection to safeguarding the rights, emoluments and pensions of the existing incumbents of the services. But in regard to the future recruitment, he would say that as soon as the Constitution Act came into force, the Provincial Governments ought to have their right to recruit provincial Services. The same might be said with regard to the Federal Government for Federal services.

A Responsible Government

Referring to the last clause of his amendment, Dr. Subbaroyan said that if the Government of India were to be a responsible Government and act in their own sphere as responsible Government, they should not be bound down by any statutory provisions which would take away their power of self-government. He did not mean to say that political influence might be brought into play in the matter of the management of railways. At the same time, if the Government was a responsible government and knew its own business, its management of the Railways would be no worse than had been the case under the present constitution. "Therefore," Dr. Subbaroyan concluded by saying, "I would make a special appeal that no fetters be put upon the future central government by the institution of a statutory Railway Board. I hope the amendment I have moved will be carried by the House, as representing the agreement come to between all parties."

Too Many Safeguards

Mr. K. P. Raman Menon said that the most striking feature of the White Paper was the fact that safeguards were far more numerous and wider than necessary. Of course, certain safeguards and reservations were necessary; but it was not to those, such as, for instance, ecclesiastical, external affairs, the relation between the Crown and the Indian States or foreign countries, that objections were raised. But they disagreed with the provision for the choice of the Army Member. The proposal put forward by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, he said, would be the most agreeable, viz., that of choosing the Army Member from the Federal Assembly. Not only would that choice of the Army Member from the Indian body politic serve as a link between the Government and the people, but it would foster that spirit of responsibility which was supposed to be fostered by the provisions in the White Paper.

Ordinance Making

Continuing Mr. Raman Menon said that the vesting of Act-making and ordinance-making powers with the Viceroy went much further than was

necessary. If it was feared that the financial interests of India, or the interests of minorities were in jeopardy, could not a legislature composed of so many diverse elements, with such weightage for conservative elements, be expected to safeguard those interests? That Act-making power of the Viceroy was unprecedented. There was no historical precedent for it; all enactments made so far, including those of the times when there was no Legislative Council, nominated or elected, were all Acts made by the Governor-in-Council. He urged those enactments must be subjected to the desire and confirmation of the legislature. Ordinances must be for specified periods only and they must obtain the approval of the legislature for their continuance. Legislatures might be depended on to have a sufficient sense of responsibility.

Federal Legislature

Mr. Raman Menon then pleaded for the setting up of the Federal Legislature at as early a date as possible as the holding up of the central structure would lead to the fear that the whole scheme for central responsibility might fizzle out. Adverting to the scheme for the provinces, he said that there was absolutely no ground for the proposed reservation of such wide powers in the hands of the Governors. The argument, advanced with reference to provincial Governors was much weaker than it was in the case of the Viceroy. There had been no case of a deadlock in the provincial Government and it was idle to suppose that in actual administration the Ministers would not have the backing of the House if they really wanted a particular measure to be carried through. Here again there was no precedent for the Governor's Act and there was neither justification nor reason for conferring such a power on the Governors.

Safeguarding Services

Concluding, Mr. Raman Menon agreed on the need for safeguarding the interests of those persons already in the services, but he could not understand how they could call any scheme 'autonomy' if an outside power reserved to itself the power to thrust services on such an 'autonomous' Government. So far as the future entrants were concerned, it was, he said absurd to vest the power of appointment in some other body than the Government concerned. While also agreeing as to the need for keeping the railways away from political interests, he could not see why the power of appointments should also be vested in the Railway Board. All along an attempt had been made to nationalise the railways and other public utility services and some steps had already been taken in the direction by the acquisition of some railways. But the appointments must be made by the Public Services Commission. For all those reasons, he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution while thanking Sir Samuel Hoare and others "for the great trouble they had taken in the preparation of the White Paper and the formulating of proposals intended to meet Indian opinion as well as satisfy extreme Conservative opinion."

Substantial Improvements Needed

Mr. Yahya Ali, in supporting the amendment first referred to the difficulties which His Majesty's Government had to meet in framing a constitution for India and said that the general scheme adumbrated in the White Paper required substantial improvement in regard to very many particulars before the scheme would satisfy their aspiration. In the first place, the idea of starting a Federation seemed to be remote now and it was doubtful whether the required number of Princes would come into the Federation. Again for the formation of a Reserve Bank so many financial

conditions had got to be satisfied. The provision governing the transitory period was very inadequate and unsatisfactory. The conditions imposed on that provision should be liberalised. The selection of the Army member from the members of the legislature should be conceded in the interests of the principle of Indianisation of the Army. Continuing, Mr. Yahya Ali said that the safeguards provided in the scheme were too many and they were of six different kinds. He was of opinion that the power of dictating legislation by special message was an extraordinary provision and the safeguards were generally in excess of the requirements of the situation. He also felt that no case had been made out for the special provisions regarding services.

OTHER AMENDMENTS

Mr. Yakub Hassan moved the following amendment:—

Add at the end:—"and on such consideration this Council is of opinion that the proposals in the White Paper are not satisfactory and the following alterations should be made therein:—

1. The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished and he should not have any advisers.

2. (a) The Indianisation of the Army and the transfer of 'Defence' to the Indian Ministry either at the end of a fixed period of time or on the happening of certain conditions to be defined should be provided for in the Constitution Act.

(b) There should be an Army Member in the Central Government to be chosen from among the members of the Central Legislature.

3. The competency of the Indian Legislature to amend the Constitution Act in all but those parts which involve imperial interests or affect the Fundamental or other specified rights should be provided for in the Constitution Act.

4. The appointment and control over the services to which appointments were heretofore made by the Secretary of State should be transferred to the Central Government of India.

5. The Governor-General's and the Governors' special responsibility should be confined to the single purpose of safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities.

6. (a) The Governor-General should have no power of legislation other than the power to pass Governor-General's Acts in respect of the Reserved Subjects and his special responsibility for safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities, and the emergency power of making ordinances and the plenary powers in the case of a breakdown of the constitution.

(b) The Governor-General's ordinances should be subject to a revision by the Legislature.

7. The Governor-General's power to obtain supply without the assent of the Legislature should be confined to the requirements of the Reserved Subjects.

8. The Provincial Governor's power of legislation should be confined to the emergency power of making ordinances and the power of making Governor's Acts for the discharge of his special responsibility in respect of the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities."

He said that the White Paper consisted of three parts, viz., federation, the realisation of which now depended on the sufficiency of the number of Indian States willing to join it; secondly the communal award, which was a shameful substitute for the agreed settlement between the communities; and thirdly the safeguarding of British interests which meant not only the

perpetuation of the sovereignty of the British King, but the sovereignty of the British people on the people of India. In that scheme there was no more pretence now, as there was in the declaration of 1917, regarding the gradual realisation of Self-Government. Great Britain was for holding India in its military grip for all time just as she was holding Egypt in her military grip. British soldiers and Indian army officered by British officers would remain in India for their own benefits. Egypt at least had financial and economic independencce, but according to the scheme of the White Paper, British influence would be felt on the financial pulse of India and British goods would have the security of the Indian market at the expense of Indian Industry. The whole framework was designed for the purpose of putting off the idea of Dominion Status becoming a fact.

Attitude of non-Congress Nationalists

Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar seconding the amendment, explained its scope and pointing out the respects in which it differed from that of Dr. Subbaroyan, said that he did not agree with the view that the Governor's powers of making Acts should be removed. To the extent of his special responsibilities he should have the power to implement those powers by necessary legislation. But this power of legislation by the Governor must go at the end of the period of transition. In regard to the recruitment to the services he sought to suggest that the power should be vested with the Central Government to make appointments to all those services to which the appointments had heretofore been made by the Secretary of State. He also wished to suggest that there should be no statutory Railway Board and should there be one it should be on the basis of an Indian statute and not of a Parliamentary statute. Continuing, Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar stated that the proposals in the White Paper had been worked out with great care and anxious thought but that was not the same as saying that they would meet with their approbation in all respects. The scheme must be viewed as the imposed one that it was, as distinct from a scheme born of the exercise of self-determination by Indians. No grantor, he said, should derogate from the nature of the grant: nor evade earlier pledges. But, he was afraid, the British Government, in the Constitution they had proposed, had failed to implement the several solemn statements made by the Premier and the Viceroy and others authoritatively laying dawn the policy. He recalled to the House the statements of the Premier MacDonald and Lord Irwin, while Viceroy, that the outcome of the Declaration of August 1917 was the grant of Dominion Status for India. The principle of Federation was accepted at the end of the first Round Table Conference and it was stated that it would be realised after some difficulties which had to be overcome had been surmounted. But, to-day, even though these difficulties must be deemed to have disappeared, the Britishers were clinging with no less obstinacy than before to the safeguards and reservations of an all absorbing character—safeguards which almost ate up the substance of what one generally understood by responsible government. The precise question now was how far the concrete proposals contained in the White Paper were a courageous translation of the pledged policy of the British Government as made out by the famous pronouncements of the Viceroy and the Premier which he had referred to.

European View

Speaking on the motion, Mr. Lengley (European) said that he did not agree that the White Paper was unsatisfactory. The proposals were made with the best of intentions. It was incorrect to say that the safe-

guards were in the interests of Britishers. In view of the raging and tearing propaganda carried on in this country, claiming repudiation of national debts, the safeguards became necessary.

The Man on the Spot

Sir A. P. Patro was of opinion that the proposal had not been made without deep thought. The White Paper had transferred important powers from the hands of the Secretary of State to the Governor-General, the man on the spot. The safeguards should not be construed as taking away responsibility.

Rights of Muslims

Mr. Hameed Khan then moved another amendment, which ran as follows:—

Add the following at the end:—

"And on such consideration this Council is of opinion:

(1) that the proposals of constitutional reform made by His Majesty's Government are unsatisfactory and retrograde in character;

(2) that the rights and claims of the Muslim community have not been properly safeguarded by the provision of fundamental rights in the Constitution Act;

(3) that it is essential for the protection of the interests of the Muslim community, to make adequate provision for the safeguarding of their education, religion and culture, not only in the sphere of Central Government but also in the administration of the Federal Units;

(4) that suitable provision should be made in the constitution of the Council of State for an adequate proportion representing the Muslim community, duly distributed over the respective Provisional Units, in the proportion in which such distribution has been made for the Federal Assembly, the system of election to be either by a system of cumulative voting by all the members of the Provincial Assemblies for the quota reserved for the Muslim community, or by a system of cumulative voting for that proportion reserved for the Muslim community, whatever the system may be regarding the remaining number; and

(5) that provision should be made expressly in the Constitution Act for a minimum representation of the Muslim community not only in the Federal and Provincial Cabinets but also in all the services in the country, both Federal and Provincial."

Real Test

Mr. Hameed Khan observed that the real test of the self-government granted would be the extent of financial powers conferred on India. He was afraid that the real power in that matter was still in British hands. The economic condition of the country had not been taken into consideration by the framers of those proposals in the measures they had evolved for the future services. Even under the present system of dyarchy, there was no power for the Governor to interfere with the vote of the House in transferred departments. But under the proposals of the White Paper for so-called provincial autonomy even that element of responsibility was done away with. The Minister could be enabled by the action of the Governor to continue in spite of and independently of the Council. Was that responsibility? In conclusion, he said that the kind of provincial autonomy envisaged in the scheme was a retrograde measure. A great blunder was committed when the idea of a federal India was discussed and settled. There could not be any harmony and co-ordination between autonomous provinces and semi-autocratic States. The representatives of the Princes

in the legislature would not be very different from the present nominated members in the legislatures. The proposals regarding safeguards were based on the mistrust of the people of this country and as long as the people of this country were mistrusted no constitution framed by the Government could be worked satisfactorily. The safeguards were essentially designed in the interests of the British people. The declaration of fundamental rights must form an integral part of the constitution and for protection of Muslim interests. There must be provision also for adequate representation of Muslims in the provincial and central Cabinet.

Muslim Position Not Defined

Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayed said that the rights and claims of the Muslim community had not been properly safeguarded. It used to be said that the Muslim community was pampered by the Government. But judging the proposals of the scheme, it would be seen that the exact position and rights of the Muslim community had not been defined. In the Constitution Act, a provision should be made defining the fundamental rights. It was said that safeguards had been made for protecting the interests of the minorities. The education of Anglo-Indian and European youths had been safeguarded, but there were no such reservations made in White Paper with regard to Muslim education. The whole scheme was unsatisfactory. There was no reservation of seats for Muslims in the Upper House. If no seat were reserved the Muslims had no chance to be returned to that House. Again a definite place should be assigned for the Muslims in the public services.

Depressed Classes

Mr. R. Srinivasan next moved the following amendment:—

Add at the end:—

"and on such consideration this House is of opinion that (a) the rights and claims of the Depressed Classes must be safeguarded by the provision in the Constitution Act of a fundamental right in the following terms:—

"All subjects of the State in India are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights. Any existing enactment, regulation, order, custom or interpretation of law by which any penalty, disadvantage, disability is imposed upon or any discrimination is made against any subject of the State on account of untouchability shall, as from the day on which this Constitution comes into operation, cease to have any effect in India."

(b) The important minority communities mentioned in the proposals mentioned in para 14 must be clearly defined or enumerated.

(c) A provision be made in the Constitution Act for the protection of the Depressed Classes against prejudicial action or neglect of interests by the authorities in the following terms:—

"In and for each Province and in and for India it shall be the duty and obligation of the Legislature and the Executive or any other authority established by law to make adequate provision for the education, sanitation, recruitment in Public Services and other matters of social and political advancement of the Depressed Classes and to do nothing that will prejudicially affect them.

"(2) Where in any Province or in India the provisions of this section are violated, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any Act or decision of any Provincial Authority and to the Secretary of State from any Act or decision of a Central Authority affecting the matter.

"(3) In every such case where it appears to the Governor-General-in-Council or to the Secretary of State the Provincial Authority or Central Authority does not take steps requisite for the due execution of the Provi-

sions of this Section then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State acting as an appellate authority may prescribe, for such period as they may deem fit, remedial measures for the due execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any of its decisions under this section and which shall be binding upon the authority appealed against."

(d) The following provisions be made in the Constitution Act:—

i. "Simultaneously with the introduction of this Constitution and as part thereof there shall be created in the Government of India a Department to be in charge of a Minister for the purpose of watching the interests of the Depressed Classes and promoting their welfare.

ii. "It shall be the duty of the Minister in the exercise of any powers and duties conferred upon him or transferred to him by law, to take all such steps as may be desirable to secure preparation, effective carrying out and co-ordinating of measures preventive of acts of social injustice, tyranny or oppression against the Depressed Classes and conducive to their welfare throughout India.

iii. "It shall be lawful for the Governor-General—

(a) to transfer to the Minister all or any powers of duties in respect of the welfare of the Depressed Classes arising from any enactment relating to education, sanitation, etc.

(b) to appoint Depressed Classes welfare bureaux in each province to work under the authority of and in co-operation with the Minister.

(c) A provision be made in the Constitution Act for the recruitment of an adequate percentage of the Depressed Classes, to the Naval, Military and Air Services."

He said that the words "important minority communities" occurring in the proposals must be so defined as to include the Depressed Classes. He emphasised the importance of affording a proper place in the Army.

Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai, seconding the amendment said that the interests of the Depressed Classes were not protected in the Fundamental Rights. There was nothing in the White Paper by which the Depressed Classes could attain political power.

Mr. M. S. Sreshta moved the following amendment:

"And on such consideration of the White Paper this Council recommends that the number of seats assigned to Indian Christians in the Madras Legislative Council be increased by five, the total number of seats in the Council being increased by the same number."

He said the principle of weightage should be recognised in the case or the Indian Christian community also. There was no reason why it should be confined to the Muslim minority. Let Indian Christians at least get the same weightage as the Muslims. Weightage should not be considered to be a privilege to be afforded to one particular community.

Mr. P. C. Moss seconded the motion.

Dr Subbaroyan's amendment was carried without a division.

Mr. Yakub Hassan's amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. Hamid Khan pressed his amendment which was carried by 22 votes to 15: many remaining neutral besides officials.

Mr. Srinivasan's amendment was also carried by 31 to 4.

Mr. Sreshta's amendment was accepted without a division.

BIHAR & ORISSA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

On March 22nd the Hon'ble Raja Saheb of Kanika moved "that, the White Paper containing proposals for the Indian Constitutional Reforms be taken into consideration."

Amendments

Mr. S. Sinha then moved that the following amendment be added to the above motion

Unsatisfactory

"And having considered it, this Council is of opinion that the scheme propounded by His Majesty's Government is on the whole unsatisfactory, confers but little power on the people of this province, is hedged in by numerous limitations opposed to the interests of India, and indicates sweeping changes in the present and prospective system of Judicature in India and the scheme, as a whole, needs substantial modifications." In moving the above motion Mr. Sinha made a fairly long speech.

Another amendment was next moved by Rai Bahadur Loknath Misra that at the end of the motion of Raja Saheb the following be added.

"And that having considered it, this Council is of opinion that the boundary demarcated for the new Orissa province is highly disappointing inasmuch as it does not include even the areas unanimously recommended by the Orissa Boundary Committee and also excludes the Pralakimedi estate proposed by the majority of the said Committee."

Retrograde

Raja P. C Lal Chowdhury supporting the motion of amendment said that the scheme now propounded in the White Paper was retrograde, reactionary and against the best interest of the country that instead of going forward, it would take them backward and would only intensify discontent in the land. He further said that the safeguards that were there were mostly in the interests of the Government and not any in the interests of the people of India. As regards the sweeping changes in the present and future judicature, foreshadowed in his scheme, the speaker believed that they would not only bring discontent but shake the confidence of the people in the administration of justice.

Rev. Brajnandan Das supported the amendment of Pandit Loknath Misra saying that the amalgamation of all the Ooriya-speaking tracts had been the earnest desire of every Ooriya, but the recent announcement had given them a rude shock and caused a great resentment that full justice had not been done to the Orissa people. He, therefore, urged the Government to reconsider the proposal before it was discussed by the Joint Committee.

Bolt from the Blue

R. B. Lakshmidhar Mahanty supported the amendment of Babu Loknath Misra. He said that this proposal in the White Paper had come to the Ooriyas as a bolt from the blue. He contended that even those modest recommendations of the O'Donnell Committee had been rejected and thus a grave injustice had been done to the Ooriyas in that matter.

History of Broken Pledges

R. B. Satish Chandra in supporting the amendment motion spoke.

"An expectant India including even a section of those who are of Congress persuasion was awaiting to find in the White Paper just issued, in spite of the gloomy forebodings as to its contents during the past few days, the message of "Peace as it purported to be, but we find in it instead a determined attempt on the part of Whitehall to keep India in perpetual bondage and only a vindication of the White man's burden. It has been repeatedly said that the goal of British rule in India has been to make India a willing partner in British Commonwealth of nations and whether or not India will

be a happy part of the British Empire depends entirely upon the British Government. But can such a constitution as outlined in the White Paper help the consummation of such an ideal ? The history of constitution-making in India has all along been a history of broken pledges, but a time has come when British statesmanship has to realise that this process cannot be repeated 'ad infinitum.' The constitution as outlined in the White Paper is a definite infringement of the basic principles of these pledges. It is not only a complete surrender to the die-hards of England but in a way also victory for the Congress which has all along suspected the bonafides of the British statesmen. India wanted bread but the famous 'caravan' of Sir Samuel Hoare has only brought us hard stones. It has been said that so far as the provinces are concerned we will have complete Provincial Autonomy, but a consideration of the special powers reserved for the Governors will convince even a casual observer of the implications of such an autonomy."

As regards Law and Order which it is said are going to be transferred to the popular representatives, the speaker said that even this limited autonomy would be only a substitute for undiluted autocracy in the absence of responsibility at the centre which as indicated in the proposal was a very remote contingency.

Babu Rajendhari Singh complained that the control over the services had been taken away from the hands of the Ministry, without which it would be impossible for them to run the administration. He was afraid that the scheme as propounded in the White Paper would not promote good-will and co-operation between the ruler and the ruled.

R. B. Dwarkanath supported the amendment motion saying that White Paper had caused the keenest resentment throughout the length and breadth of the country. It received condemnation even from the responsible statesmen of the country like Mr. Srinivas Sastri, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer and several Round Tablers in one voice.

Mr. N. K. Ghosh strongly protested on behalf of the Chota Nagpur against the attempt to rob them of the reforms that they now possessed. He pointed out that para 105—109 of the White Paper stipulated to rob Chota Nagpur of the present privileges to send a representative to the Assembly and empowered the Governor at his discretion to disallow any resolution or question regarding the administration of partially excluded area like Chota Nagpur. This was an invasion of the rights of the people of Chota Nagpur. Mr. Ghosh strongly urged the case of Chota Nagpur and called the attention of Government to the injustice being done to Chota Nagpur and which was simply leading to dissatisfaction and resentment of the people of Chota Nagpur. Mr. Ghosh referred to the resolution at the various meetings of the landholders of the Chota Nagpur Division and their memorandum to the Round Table Conference but Government seemed to turn a deaf ear.

Babu Devendra Samanta supported the amendment expressing the great disappointment of the aboriginal population with regard to the proposals for the administration of the aboriginal tract.

Amendments Carried

Both the amendments were carried.

UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Consideration of the White Paper was taken up in the United Provinces Council on March 30 the motion of the Finance Member. Government members did not participate in the debate. Safeguards, special powers of the Governor-General, Governor and the creation of a Statutory Railway Board

came in for severe criticism by the members. The general opinion was that the proposals, as embodied in the Paper, were not acceptable even to moderate opinion unless and until they were drastically altered in the Joint Select Committee.

Rai Bahadur Vikramjit Singh (President, Cawnpore Chamber of Commerce) complained that as far as the United Provinces' commerce was concerned not one seat had been allotted while Madras and other provinces, which could not be said to have larger commercial interests were given seats.

Mr. E. Ahmedshah (nominated) said that considering the complexity of the Indian question the White Paper proposal were comprehensive and workable. As far as minority were concerned their interests were well placed in the hands of the Governor-General, but he could not agree that the services should be in the hands of the Secretary of State.

GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor, addressed the Council March 30th. After dwelling on the White Paper so far as it affects the Government at the centre His Excellency discussed the Provincial proposals in it and said "Let me approach the question in consciousness that I am addressing men of two different aspects of thought. There are those who feel that responsibility given to popular representatives should be untramelled by any restrictions and unhampered even by a second Chamber based on higher franchise. But there are also many public outside and some presumably within the Council who are apprehensive of danger to their own interest, of placing even powers now proposed in the hands of popular representatives elected on low franchise with limited representation of special interest. If I am engaged in justifying the proposals in the paper I should do so with reference to both points of view."

A Constitutional Phrase

Continuing His Excellency said "You are not to be misled by the provision in the White Paper that all executive acts will be expressed as acts of Governor. That is only a constitutional phrase. You are to test the extent of those special responsibilities in pursuance of which the Governor can override ministers either on his own initiative, or as an agent to the Governor-General, and the precision with which those special responsibilities are defined. You have some experience, and I hope not an unfavourable experience, of Governors. You are able to estimate the lengths to which any Governor would naturally prefer to go before deciding on the steps which would ordinarily involve resignation of ministers and conflict with legislatures."

A Second Chamber

Discussing the Second Chamber His Excellency said "There are considerations which may appeal differently to two parties to whom I referred above. Both parties no doubt realize that limit should be set on the powers of the Second Chamber. It will have power of impeding legislation, but not of imposing the final veto.

Recruitment

Discussing how far the ministers have complete control over the agencies of administration His Excellency said there will probably to be no cavil at the stipulation that all recruitment must be made through the Public Service Commission which also have a voice, though not decisive, in promotions and disciplinary action. Nor there were be any criticism of the proposals that members of the Services who hitherto received their appointments through

the Secretary of State, shall continue to receive from him protection which is part of the agreement. But I refer to the particular proposals that the Secretary of State will continue for five years to recruit Security Services and that officers recruited up to that period, will continue to enjoy his protection. Now you judge whether this is a reasonable provision in order to allow the new Government to decide on the course it desires to pursue in regard to future recruitment, or whether the alternative is desirable that it should have an opportunity of putting forward a new procedure immediately after it takes office.

A Clean Slate

Continuing further His Excellency said "It is an error to suppose we have a clean slate on which we can write any constitution which appeals to us. We are bound by circumstances and limitations in which we find ourselves. But again it is equally an error to apply to the scheme arguments and criticisms which will only be applicable if you have been presented with the final form of a constitution engraved in brazen tablets are immutable for all times."

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Punjab Legislative Council, on the motion of the Leader of the House, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, discussed the White Paper on March 28. The motion to discuss the White Paper was talked out after speakers from all sides of the House participated in the debate.

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, in moving that the Paper be discussed, announced that the Government members would not participate in the debate nor vote, but the liberty of the Ministers to do so would be unrestricted. He added that the views of the House would be conveyed to Whitehall.

Explanations

Chaudhury Zafarullah Khan, Round Tabler, initiating the debate, analysed and explained the different proposals adumbrated in the White Paper for the benefit of the House. He expressed no opinion, but only put forward his interpretation of the different sections as they would affect the provinces and the different units of the proposed Federation.

Reservations

Chaudhury Alladad Khan, while criticising the safeguards and reservations which, in his opinion, caused real equality of status to be lost, warned the House that rejection of the scheme would be futile, as it did embody a certain measure of advance which it was upto them to develop.

Amendment

Khan Bahadur Habibullah moved the following amendment as a substantive motion:

"In the opinion of this House, the outline of the Constitution Act as given therein, falls far short of Indian aspirations for Dominion Status, and that unless substantial changes are effected by the Joint Committee, the proposed Constitution will not satisfy any political party in the country. The Council, therefore, requests all Indian members of the Joint Committee to sink all their communal differences, and present a united front to the Government in England."

While Mr. Habibullah was making a speech on his amendment, the President ruled that the House having already accepted a motion that the Paper

be discussed, no other substantive motion could be placed before the House unless the original motion had been disposed of.

The President observed that Mr. Habibullah had been allowed to move his amendment, due to a error on his (the President's) part. The amendment, therefore, was ruled out, as also Sardar Arjan Singh's amendment, that "the scheme was halting and inadequate, and required radical and material alterations."

Hindu Leader's Statement

Raja Narendranath, Leader of the Hindu Party, made the following statement on behalf of the Hindus:—

"The policy of the Government of England is to crystallise the minorities and majorities in India as separate entities. We are constrained to look upon the constitutional proposals of the White Paper from the point of view of the Hindu minority of the Punjab. The experience of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the past has been very discouraging. The treatment meted out to them has been most invidious and unjust. The Home Government turned a deaf ear to all our representations. We are therefore convinced that any criticism of the White Paper from the point of view of these minorities, will not meet a better fate, and will be an utter waste of time. The Governor is supposed to be made the protector of the minority rights in the new Constitution, but can be expected to follow a policy different from that of the Home Government which is one of differential treatment of the monirities in the different provinces. No general formula of minority rights, which would give them protection, has been announced. Any suggestions from us are absolutely useless, as they are not likely to receive any better consideration. We, therefore, have no other course to follow than to adopt an attitude of resentment and indifference."

Statement by Sikh Leader

Sardar Ujjal Singh, Round Tabler, made the following statement on behalf of the Sikhs:—"The White Paper has completely ignored the claims of the Sikhs and given sanction to the Communal Award, which the whole community regards as unjust and unworkable. We have examined the proposals with anxious care from the point of view of Responsible Government at the centre and autonomous government in the provinces with special regard as to the safeguarding of our minority interests. We are driven to the conclusion that under the proposals enunciated in the White Paper, it would be impossible to establish autonomous, impartial and just governments in the provinces and effective and Responsible Government in the Centre.

"Under these conditions, no useful purpose, we believe, would be served at this stage in examining these proposals in detail, and we must reserve our criticism for a more suitable opportunity, when our criticism and co-operation are likely to be of some value."

States and Federation

Mr. Din Mahomed, in a vehement speech, denounced the idea of calling in the States into the Federation, while humanity therein had not yet been brought to the level of that in British India, and did not enjoy the privileges and rights of the latter. He attacked the attitude of the States and said that British India alone should federate, leaving the States to come in if they wanted only after their subjects had progressed to the stage reached by British Indians. He protested against the proposals that nominated representatives of the States should be entitled to interfere in British

Indian affairs, while a similar right was not conceded to British Indian legislators.

The president who had already put Mr. Habibulla's motion from the Chair considered Government objection a valid one, and in order to get out of the difficulty, suggested to Mr. Habibulla that he should withdraw the resolution seeing that practically all the speakers from the elected members had supported his view point and since the debate would be fully reported to Whitehall his purpose would, in any case, be served.

Mr. Habibulla said that that was all the more reason why the House should have an opportunity to pass his resolution.

The President, however, adjourned the session, suggesting to Mr. Habibulla to request the Leader of the House to allot another day for discussing this motion.

ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Discussion

Mr. Brindabon Goswami said that the White Paper must have caused a great despair to all sections of people in the country. It has hoodwinked the Congress, agitating for attaining the Dominion Status and the nationalists who are advocating for responsible self-Government, with safeguards for the welfare of India during the transitional period.

The inauguration of Federation of India will take place at some distant time subject to certain preparatory processes and a few other conditions. He criticised the over riding powers of the Governor of a Province in course of discharging his special responsibilities which is without any parallel. He then pointed out the glaring injustice done to Assam in respect of allocation of revenues and again only five seats have been alloted to Assam in the Federal Council of State and has been bracketted with North Western Frontier Province and Sind who are far behind this Province.

Mr. Rohini K. Choudhury forcefully dealt with the pros and cons of the White Paper admitting that the proposals unsatisfactory as they are, did not surprise him in the least as sufficient indication of it he found in the statement made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru sometime back. White Paper has perpetuated the Whiteman's superiority in India and has strengthened the shackles of bondage. The powers of the Governor of the Province have been augmented beyond all proportions and the ordinance making power is beyond all canons of justice which will only help India to drift away from co-operation and to increase her desire to sever British connection. The transference of Law and Order to Ministers would have been hailed with satisfaction but that gift is no sooner made than revoked when the instrument of instruction is put into operation. On the top of everything there is the Governor's power to suspend the whole constitution.

European Group's Views

Mr. E. S. Roffey, the leader of the European group said that great responsibility lies in criticising the White Paper as this is the result of deliberations of best brains in India and England. He dwelt at great length on the different proposals laid down specially stressing on the point of allocation of Revenues between the Federation and the Units and asserted that Assam inevitably needs subvention.

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE

No Central Responsibility

In the House of Commons on February 22 Sir Henry Page Croft moved his motion which declared Central Responsibility is inexpedient in India at

present and urged that extension of Self-Government to the Provinces should be first step. It affirmed that until provincial Self-Government has proved effective and the provinces with due experience are prepared to federate with the States as partners of the British Empire general Self-Government will be gravely dangerous to the welfare of the inhabitants of India and the British interests involved in it. Sir Henry Page-Croft proposing his motion dwelt on the importance of the subject, which, he said, far transcended any other question that the House was likely to be called on to consider. He referred to the grave anxiety felt especially in Lancashire, and said that if the members felt that Government was going too far it was their duty to express their feelings immediately.

Extraordinary Change

Sir H. Page-Croft maintained that the Conservatives endorsed the hasty ideas of the Labour Government without facing the realities or considering the consequences of the policy which must mean the end of the British rule and influence in India. Sir Henry paid a tribute to Sir S. Hoare for the "extraordinary change" since he took office and likened him to the man who jumped on to a runaway coach tearing downhill. He reminded Sir S. Hoare that there was a safe side-road to the Provinces and urged that when the Provinces graduated in the hard school of self-Government and desired partnership in the Empire it would be the summit of Britain's Imperial purpose, but those conditions did not exist at present.

Mr. Marsden (Conservative), seconding the motion, contended that the preponderating agricultural population had been inadequately represented at the Round Table Conference. He dwelt on the need of good administration whatever the form of Government and urged the need of cautious progress. He advocated ascertaining the result of the responsibility in the Provinces, before giving it in the Centre.

Amendments

An amendment to Sir Henry Page-Croft's motion in the Commons had been tabled by Lord Eustace Percy and Mr. Molson, declaring that it is inadvisable at present to make any declaration of policy with regard to the future of the Government of India which might be interpreted either as signifying a change of its general attitude or restricting its freedom to pass a considered judgment on the concrete proposals to be laid before it in future.

There was also a Socialist amendment demanding the release of political prisoners not convicted for violence.

Both the Labourite and Lord Eustace Percy's amendments were on paper and the Speaker called on Lord Percy. Although the Speaker's real reasons for the selection of particular amendments are never known, it is in accordance with the usual principle that the wider of the two amendments should be chosen, even though a more restricted amendment has been put down by the official Opposition. Any way the selection of the amendment is exclusively the prerogative of the Speaker.

Official Conservative Attitude

Lord Percy pointed out that he moved the amendment because he felt that Sir H. Page-Croft sought to commit the House to definite proposals whereas the House of Commons was not committed to any particular proposals. Urging that the Select Committee should be independent and unfettered by any previous declarations Lord Percy said that many people felt that the House would have to resolve itself into the Committee to

determine afresh nothing less than the best form of Government for India. Referring to Sir H. Page-Croft's advocacy of the Simon Report, Lord Percy pointed out that the chapter on finance was now out of date and added that it was impossible to have the real test of capacity for self-government, unless the test included responsibility for law and order. Lord Percy stressed the impossibility of leaving the existing constitution un changed and concluded by urging the House to refrain from pre-judging the eventual decision or prejudicing the fair-minded consideration of the Government's proposals by passing Sir Henry Page-Croft's resolution, which could not represent the lines of the future Government of India.

Labour View

Major Attlee declared that Sir H. Page-Croft had ignored some prime facts of the situation. He reminded the House that there was a definite pledge which could not be disregarded. Stressing the importance of getting Indian opinion ready to work the reforms he emphasised the strength and force of nationalism in India and said he believed that the success of the next step would lie not in accuracy of the reforms in every detail but a gesture on the part of Government by releasing the political prisoners and inviting the Congress again to join in the work.

"White Paper or Military Autocracy"

Mr. Bernays, supporting the amendment, declared that the risks of Government policy were negligible compared with the risks of Mr. Churchill's policy, which involved a return to the 19th century structure of the Government, without its stability.

Mr. Churchill intervened and said that the only policy to which he was committed was within the ambit of the Simon Commission. Mr. Bernays replied that that was the policy he was attacking and said that it was not a choice between the Simon Report and the White Paper, but between the White Paper and military autocracy. He expressed the opinion that a large section in India desired peace and to be detached from civil disobedience by a generous settlement.

Secretary's Statement

Sir Samuel Hoare assured the House that the Government had not the least intention of abandoning their Indian obligations and taking action which would close India to the Empire. He emphasised that there was no change in the position of himself, the Government and the House of Commons since the Government proposals of December 1931 were overwhelmingly approved. The position was exactly the same with one exception, namely, that the state of India was much better. Sir S. Hoare referred in this connection to the substantial restoration of law and order, the crushing of the boycott, the release, without serious result, of two-thirds of civil disobedience prisoners and the "most notable evidence of all" the overwhelming ratification of the Ottawa Agreement and the enactment by the Central and Provincial legislatures of legislation to deal with any renewed threats against the established Government. He claimed that nothing had happened to justify the House of Commons altering its general attitude on Indian reforms.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S MOTION

On March 27th Sir Samuel Hoare moved that—

Before Parliament was asked to take a decision upon the proposals contained in the White Paper, it is expedient that a Joint Select Committee of the Lords and the Commons, with power to call into consulta-

tion representatives of Indian States and British India, should be appointed to consider the future Government of India, particularly to examine and report upon the proposals in the White Paper.

After various comments on the Government's position, he said that on the one hand their Indian policy was regarded as a white flag and on the other hand as a red flag flouting Indian nationalism.

Anglo-Indian Interests

All these obligations were included in the general terms "joint Anglo-Indian Interests" which Government proposed to safeguard. It was fairer and more honest to list these safeguards in the White Paper. The safeguards were liable to attack from both sides. Indians said they amounted to so much that the responsibility became a sham. Critics in this country said that no safeguards were any good. "We often hear these criticisms stated in the form of a dilemma: 'If the safeguards are effective, responsibility is a sham; if responsibility is effective, the safeguards are a sham.' Fortunately the world is not run on the Rule of Three. If this were a true dilemma, it will mean one of two things. First either there could never be responsibility in India; secondly, if there were responsibility, it must be responsibility without safeguards." Sir Samuel claimed that no serious body of opinion either in Britain or in India was prepared to accept either of those alternatives. Certainly among the first to protest would be the representatives of the Indian minorities who made their voices so powerfully heard at the last Round Table Conference.

No Irish Analogy

Sir S Hoare mentioned the Irish Treaty which he said bore no analogy to the Indian situation. The Irish Treaty broke down because there were no safeguards. In India, the Governor-General, the Provincial Governors and other high officials would still be appointed by the Crown. The security services and the executive officers of the Federal and Provincial Government would still be recruited and protected by Parliament and the army would remain under the undivided control of Parliament. Those were no paper safeguards. The heads of Government were endowed with great power and were given the means of giving effect to those powers.

Safeguards

Sir S. Hoare referred to a recent letter of Lord Zetland to "The Times" in which he stated that the safeguards might be all right on paper but would require a veritable superman as Governor. These criticisms deserved careful weighing and answering. As regards the Governor-General there were 47 Central subjects for which he was responsible. No one supposed that the Governor-General was at present a mere figure-head holding one of the most arduous and most responsible offices in the Empire and in addition to central responsibilities, he was responsible for the superintendence and control of important reserved subjects in the Provinces besides the relations between the two Houses of the legislature. His present responsibilities were overwhelming and all-pervading and they would be very heavy in future. He had discussed the question with the Viceroy, ex-Viceroys and several Provincial Governors. They all took the view that on the whole the responsibilities of the Governor-General were and would be less rather than greater in the future.

Provision for Efficient Police

Referring to the police organisation, he hoped there would be strong selection boards for appointments and promotions in the subordinate ranks.

It was to such means that Government looked for the security of the police from deterioration, but the morale of the police was of importance in emergencies beyond that of any other service. The White Paper had taken account of it. Let there be no doubt on the matter. The work of the police would be the responsibility of the Minister and, if for no other reason, the Minister would be deeply concerned in Police efficiency, because at every point its work would be subject to criticism. The Governor was given special responsibility in the case of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the province and the Instrument of Instructions would direct him to have regard to close relations between this responsibility and the internal administration and discipline of the force.

No Time Limit

Sir Robert Horne asked whether there was any limit for the time during which the Secretary of State exercised discretion in the appointment of the Police.

Sir S. Hoare replied that there would be no limit for time. After five years, there would be a Statutory Commission to enquire into the various problems connected with the services referred to in the proposals.

LABOUR PARTY'S ATTITUDE

Major Attlee, on behalf of the Opposition, read the following statement which laid down the exact attitude of the Labourites to the whole question of the Indian Constitutional Reform:

" Since the commencement of the British control of India in 1857, successive British Governments have given pledges to the people of that country. The Labour Party desire to see the pledges carried out. They stand by the declaration made at the Blackpool Conference of 1927 the effect of which was to reaffirm the right of the Indian people to full self-government and self-determination. Therefore the policy of the British Government should be one of continuous co-operation with the Indian people with the object of establishing India as early as possible by her own consent as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of nations.

Safeguards for India

The Labour Party believe that, as stated by the Simon Commission, the new constitution should contain within itself provisions for its own development. We think that the new constitution should contain the principle laid down in the Irwin-Gandhi Pact that such safeguards as are necessary should be in the interests of India and think that they should be agreed to in co operation with the leaders of Indian opinion. The Indian Constitution should adopt the principle laid down by the Labour Government at the First Round Table Conference and repeated as their policy by the National Government at the Second Round Table Conference that the reserved powers should not be such as to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own government.

The Labourites stand by the principle that a settlement cannot be reached without the co-operation and consent of all sections in India. Therefore I ask for the release of political prisoners. If a Joint Committee is set up the Party will nominate its representatives because it is our duty to serve such a body representing the two Houses and will do our utmost to get our views discussed and incorporated in the Committee Report." Major Attlee emphasised the declaration made on behalf of Britain and said that the Labour Government's policy was co-operation, free discussion and agreement for which it went great lengths and achieved a remarkable

triumph when Congress representatives were present at the Round Table Conference and all Indian political opinion was called into co-operation.

National Government's Change of Policy

A change followed under the National Government. The Round Table Conference was dismissed. An era of repression against the Congress was started and the whole structure of conciliation was shattered. The Third Round Table Conference contained a small number of handpacked unrepresentative delegates. It was a mistaken policy because it was impossible to smash the Congress by force and reach a satisfactory conclusion with a few Indian representatives. The White Paper seemed directly to conflict with the principles laid down and our pledges. Sir S. Hoare's speech, although it tried to hold the balance even, was actually directed at Mr. Churchill and his friends. Major Attlee said that in the White Paper the whole idea of Dominion Status had gone as also the idea of progressive advance towards self-government. There was no suggestion that the powers of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State would lapse.

Defects in Plan

There was no provision for a change in the Centre machinery or the lapsing of financial safeguards and for Indians controlling their own defence. The White Paper did not indicate that the safeguards were transitory. Major Attlee complained also of the extremely vague time for the Central Constitution to come into force and said that never had he seen so many obstacles put in the way of reforms. The date and conditions for the inauguration of the Federation must be clarified. He proceeded to criticise the proposals on the ground of introducing dyarchy at the Centre which would inevitably lead to blurring responsibility throughout. Dyarchy was a lesson in irresponsibility. It was a terrible thing to establish it at the Centre after it had already been so discredited in the Provinces.

Council of State

Major Attlee criticised the qualifications for the Council of State which would be a pillar of vested interests and of extreme reaction. He also criticised the constitution of the Lower House in the Centre on the ground that there would be no proper contact between the electors and the elected in the constituencies with a million people. He said that the proposals in regard to the representation of women and labour were reactionary. The position in the Provinces was better, but reserve powers should only be used in an emergency since responsibility must imply the power to make mistakes. Major Attlee regretted that the Provincial Franchise was not wider especially in relation to women. He deplored the establishment of second chambers in most landlord-ridden provinces and the special representation of landlords.

No Approach to Dominion Status

Everyone in India believed in strong Government, but that meant Government with the consent of the governed. The only basis for an interim constitution was complete agreement with the politically-minded people with whom we would have to work. The Labourites demanded self-government on grounds of the economic and social conditions of the masses and wanted to free the forces of young India for social reform. The White Paper would not accomplish that. There was no central responsibility and no suggestion of progress towards full responsibility or relaxation of the control of the Commons and the Secretary of State. There was no approach to Dominion Status, while every vested interest was protected as a result of which the banker would reign in Delhi as in London and the landlord would rule the Council of State as in the Lords. The Government had

sacrificed goodwill and co-operation and sacrificed everything to timidity, over-fear and over-insistence on safeguards. In essentials which called for Indian co-operation, the scheme failed.

Labourites' Policy

Major Attlee concluded stating that the Labourites would serve on the Select Committee but would be unable to accept the White Paper as the solution. They would work as far as possible to see that those who spoke for India would come and put their case before the Select Committee.

LIBERALS' VIEW

Sir Herbert Samuel opined that if Major Attlee's colleagues were called upon to deal with the problem of Indian Government, their proposals would closely approximate to those approved by the Round Table Conference and embodied in the White Paper. Every section of the House would have its own criticism, but it was the duty of the House to show that the solid mass of British opinion supported the proposals in the main.

Sir H. Samuel paid a tribute to the sincerity, pertinacity and courage with which Sir S. Hoare faced the difficulties confronting the problem. He said it would be a profound error to re-open the whole matter as desired by Mr. Churchill. Sir H. Samuel acknowledged also the assistance given by the delegates to the Round Table Conference who had come great distances and devoted a long time to share in the deliberations. He said the least we could do was to ask the representatives of India to be associated with the Select Committee. The constitution did not allow us to go further.

Mr. Churchill's Alternative

Proceeding to criticise Mr. Churchill's attitude, Sir H. Samuel said that Indians would never believe our word again if we did not do our utmost to promote self-government. The Government of India could not be carried on without a very large measure of Indian co-operation. Success was not certain for these proposals, but failure was certain for Mr. Churchill's alternative. Sir H. Samuel likened the present position in relation to India to that existing in Ireland in 1886 when self-government was first proposed and said if that opportunity had been taken, the later difficulties would have been avoided. Similarly if the present opportunity was missed, we might, in a few years, be in a far more difficult position in regard to India. The delay was already too long. Sir H. Samuel admitted the difficulties caused by India's huge population and many social customs, but happily there were numerous educated and experienced men of the world in India and if the number was not larger, it might be due to the fact that the rulers were foreign and native genius was stunted, while a large measure of self-government could open the door to social reform.

Safeguards

Dealing with the need for safeguards, Sir H. Samuel said it was Britain's duty to see the transition to a fuller measure of self-government made with dignity and order. He reminded Indians that it was truest patriotism to recognise that any government even, if partly foreign, was better than anarchy if purely native.

Sir H. Samuel opined that the White Paper would bring Dominion Status very close and said if there was any error, it was on the side of the very assurance against possible dangers. He hoped that the Committee would not recommend increased safeguards or cut down the liberty which had been granted. "We wish it well and will support Government in their efforts. We regard this measure not as a surrender of Britain's task in India, but rather its consummation and crown."

THE DIEHARD ATTACK

Sir Reginald Craddock (Conservative) implored the Government to take heed before committing themselves to a policy which not merely surrendered British interests and obligations but might prove a great betrayal of sacred trust. He said it was a rash thing to suggest democracy for a country with so many warring races and hostile interests. The White Paper which was to have been India's political Bible had been relegated, at least momentarily, to the status of apocrypha. It was riddled with safeguards but they had not always worked and those who knew India well knew the assaults to which they would be open. Sir Reginald said it as untrue that all classes in India demanded this scheme. It was true that many still said what they did not mean, because they were poor and knew it was the Government's policy. He described as a very specious argument that responsibility was the only cure for irresponsibility, what really mattered was whether the people really had the sense of responsibility.

Simon Commission's Recommendations

Sir Reginald Craddock urged the adoption of the Simon Commission's recommendations with regard to the provincial autonomy and for law and order the revival of the Commission's proposals of official ministers. He said that the Federal Scheme was still a thing of future which must be considered on its merits.

Dual Policy

Miss Pickford (Conservative) said that the return to the Simon Commission proposals would be return to the position which no longer existed and proceeded to discuss the work of the Franchise Committee. She regretted the rejection of the proposed literacy qualification for women which however was the only substantial proposal of the Committee which the White Paper did not adopt.

Miss Mary Pickford thought that improvement in the situation since three Round Table Committees visited India was proved by the success of the dual policy of maintenance of law and order and continuance of constitutional advance. She said if Parliament now did not consent to a policy of Central Responsibility and transfer of law and order in the Provinces, Indian political suspicion would have some foundation. Moderate opinion in India was at present prepared to co-operate and even a section of the Congress realised that it was better to abandon Civil Disobedience and co-operate in the reforms which, if Parliament now decided not only would civil disobedience be resumed but also all the more the Moderate element would be thrown into the hands of the Congress. It was the height of political courage not cowardly yielding to popular clamour to grant what measure of self-government was possible to those who had genuine national aspirations.

Backbenchers

Mr. Hales did not think that India would adapt itself to Western democracy and said that no system of Government would be satisfactory unless it had the goodwill of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi still possessed the confidence of the great mass of Indians. Mr. Hales thought that a solution could be found by personal touch and suggested that the Prince of Wales, the Premier and Mr. Baldwin should visit India for that purpose.

Tightening Safeguards

Mr. Molson criticised some arguments put forward by the Conservative Right Wing and suggested that the Select Committee should consider the

tightening up of the safeguards. With regard to the police, he criticised the lack of warmth of the reception of the White Paper in India and hoped that the Select Committee would result in framing a bill which would satisfy India's legitimate aspirations while affording effective and ample safeguards for all minorities and all interests.

Dealing with the Labour amendment to be moved on March 29, which refers to the desirability of releasing Mr. Gandhi and other political prisoners, Mr. Molson thought that all would regret that when great changes were being introduced, Mr. Gandhi was in gaol, but he was not kept there by Sir S. Hoare or the Government. The doors were open if he would recognise that Government had broken the Civil Disobedience campaign and turn his mind to constructive work and call off Civil Disobedience whereby he would render great service to India.

No Excuse For Landslide

Sir Alfred Knox argued that the Government's proposals had practically no support among officials and Europeans in India and there was no excuse for the landslide in the last three years. He said with regard to Indian consultation, it was very difficult to get honest opinion from any Indian witness. Sir Alfred Knox contended that Federation would lack stability and said that under the new constitution, a Viceroy would be needed to know everyone and Governors who would do the same. The latter were denied the assistance of counsellors and would be so many Robinson Crusoes marooned without a single Friday. Sir Alfred Knox urged that the Governor should have a Deputy Governor and should be empowered to appoint one or two non-elected members of Government. He said the Police problem could be solved if the police were entrusted to an official so appointed. Sir Alfred Knox calculated that in addition to numerous ministers there would be 3,620 politicians receiving allowances and enumerated other expenses. He urged instead of such an expensive system, concentration on teaching efficient agricultural work and social services. Sir Alfred Knox predicted that reforms would certainly fail for which the Conservatives would bear the stigma. He expressed determination of himself and his associates to oppose in every manner abdication of authority in the Centre which was not in the interests of India and Britain. This so-called act of faith was a wicked and dishonest gamble.

Best Possible Policy

Sir Alfred Law (Conservative) said that if the House gave the impression of going back on pledges they would deprive themselves of Indian's belief in good faith of the British which was a most powerful instrument of Government they possessed. He was in no way alarmed by the White Paper. It did not embody an ideal policy but the best possible policy at the present time. He, therefore, hoped that Government would go ahead with courage and determination not overawed by vocal opinions of a section of the Conservatives.

Indian Goodwill

Mr. E. C. G. Cadogan (Conservative) referred to Sir Samuel Hoare's statement that there was a moral obligation and asked to which obligation it applied to the Indian intelligentsia or the vast millions of the people. Mr. Cadogan agreed with the necessity of obtaining Indian goodwill but questioned whether these proposals when operating would sustain an atmosphere of goodwill. A few years ago they were told that the refusal of the Congress people to co-operate with the Simon Commission had rendered its labours nugatory. They were now told that the Congress could safely

be ignored. Silence was brooding over India. He was afraid that it was an exception to the rule that silence gave consent.

Referring to the contention that Indians would accept any alternative Mr. Cadogan said that "we must make sure that they would accept the scheme now being offered." He was not suggesting an alternative at present but protested that it was absolutely fantastic to designate the Simon Commission's recommendations for provincial autonomy as a standstill policy.

Mr. Cadogan referred to the anomalies of the White Paper and said that it was demanded for the Viceroy someone with versatility and resource of Mr. Chruchill coupled with the temperament of Archangel Gabriel. He warned the House of the consequences of breakdown in the administration and said that he must be convinced that the scheme would ensure continuance of sound administration and efficient personnel. It was essential to make clear that the safeguards would continue for some time. British Government had overriding obligations of sacred trusteeship and would not dispense prematurely with the safeguards. Speaking for himself and his colleagues he said they were content to allow the Select Committee to lend a hand in the elucidation of one of the most complex problems Parliament was ever called on to solve.

Difficulty and Disaster

Viscount Wolmer (Conservative), a member of the Defence of India Committee, did not believe that safeguards would work without leading British and India into a most terrible difficulty and disaster. Viscount Wolmer contended that the Government were attempting something which was essentially incompatible and said that it was impossible to combine Parliamentary Government with safeguards. Rights and responsibilities given to the Governors would bring him into conflict with the legislatures while directly the Viceroy used the safeguard. Indian political opinion would be antagonised thousand times more than had occurred hitherto. We were giving Indians name and form of self-Government but the moment there was conflict with the Viceroy on the reserved subject, they would find responsibility had been filched away. Referring to the suggestion that the presence of the Princes would give a stability, Viscount Wolmer contended that any constitution built on a gamble that we would get them to shoulder responsibilities and unpopularities that we were unprepared to face was building on shifting sands.

Appalling Gamble

Viscount Wolmer described the proposals as the most appalling gamble with the future of 350 millions of their fellow creatures and said he was unable to make himself responsible for them in their present form. The issue was so great that it transcended party loyalty and imposed obligation on every member to come to the right and safe decision and act accordingly. The wise and proper course was to take advice of the Simon Commission and make experiment in one or two provinces, give them the fullest powers and responsibilities and then at the end of ten years or other period appoint another Commission to see how reforms had worked.

BIG MAJORITY FOR GOVERNMENT

The Government motion to establish a Select Committee was carried by 449 votes to 43 on March 29th.

The Labour Amendment was defeated by 475 votes to 42.

Labour Amendment

Mr. Morgan Jones moved the Opposition amendment.

The amendment called attention to the failure of the Government to implement the numerous promises to grant Dominion Status within the Empire, the failure of Government to secure the co-operation of the leading political organisations in India whose co-operation is essential in any scheme of reform and also the refusal to release the prisoners in order that the latter might be done.

He said that the Labour Party were extremely anxious that the House should understand that having joined the Select Committee, they did not wish at some future time to be made responsible for this or other decision of Government. They entered the Joint Committee with Monday's declaration and to-day's amendment clearly in mind. It followed that Labour representatives entering the Select Committee, would do so entirely unpledged and uncommitted. Their hands were entirely free with one limitation, namely, that Labour representatives would participate in the work of the Committee with every possible desire to assist in the work but would clearly keep in mind not only the repeated declarations of successive Governments so that the ultimate result would be as close an approximation as possible to the ideal they had held for many years. Their main concern would be the well-being of India's peoples. Indeed, that point had been conceded by implication in the fact that Indians would be invited to London.

Release Political Prisoners

It was no good suggesting that they had a favourable atmosphere in India for discussion until all people representing all shades of opinion were free to discuss among themselves. There were thousands of people in gaol, including large numbers of those belonging to the most influential body of organised opinion besides its leaders. They had been frequently told that the Government's attitude was that before there could be any question of release, there must be a declaration of the abandonment of the policy of non-co-operation. How did Sir S. Hoare propose to put that to the test ? He pointed out that the Calcutta Congress session had been banned and he suggested that the only way that Sir S. Hoare could expect such a decision as the abandonment of non-co-operation was to allow the meeting to be held. Mr. Morgan Jones recalled Sir T. B. Sapru's words at the Round Table Conference that there was no chance of the proposals getting even consideration without Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues being free to discuss these matters in consultation with their political friends. He thought that the atmosphere in which the proposals were discussed should be as free from bitterness and prejudice as possible. The Commons through their Ministers were overwhelmingly pledged to the proposition that the Indian people should possess Dominion Status. He subscribed entirely to the Labour criticisms, especially those relating to safeguards, and disapproved of the efforts to prevent Extremists from reaching power. There was no case for pretending to erect a legislature and then saying that it was so carefully safeguarded that no one regarded as Extremists could ever hope for power. If they barred the way of the so-called Extremists, the legislatures were in danger of becoming a sham and a fake. The provisions by which the Governor-General could forbid the introduction of Bills, etc., made the whole thing a sham. The safeguards simply have strung the progressive forces in India. Mr. Morgan Jones said he would be the last to deny that we had most intimate interests in India, but in view of the enormous powers of Governors, was not some safeguard necessary for the Indian people?

Tory Revolters

Mr. Churchill said that we were confronted by proposals which marked a definite decline, even the disappearance, of our authority in India, proposals which proclaimed our disinteresting ourselves in the welfare of the people and a readiness to hand over after 180 years. Indian fortunes to Indian hands—a course fraught with memorable consequences to the people of Britain and India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had failed. Instead of increasing contentment they had aroused agitation and increased disloyalty. The reforms had not even contented the classes for whose satisfaction they were originally conceived. No doubt, a lot of good work had been done but the failure of the reforms was the first point to be considered.

Parliament's Pledge

Emphasising the heavy responsibility resting on Parliament at the present time and "the great vote in favour of the greatness of Britain given in the last election," Mr. Churchill warned the House lest, in the words of Morley, it should in future "the dull roar and scream of carnage and confusion coming back to us" from India because in that case bitter would be the feelings of responsibility of those concerned in bringing about a situation of such frightful disaster. Mr. Churchill argued that Parliament was not pledged to the measures proposed. He criticised "the undermining perorations" of the R. T. C. which had led Indians to expect early control of the Government of India.

Benefits of Firm Rule

The decision of the Government of India to enforce law without fear or favour had been instantly accepted throughout India by the overwhelming mass of the people. Order had been largely restored throughout India, the Civil Disobedience movement had been broken and Mr. Gandhi on whom Mr. MacDonald and Lord Irwin lavished caresses had been in prison, for over a year, (he was very sorry for it for many reasons) with a large but a happily diminishing number of his followers. Hardly anyone had been killed or severely hurt and not a single British battalion had been required. In the Frontier, there had been the fewest clashes between the police and rioters. There was no doubt of our ability to govern India justly and wisely in our own way and entrust to able educated Indians through whom the Government of India could be conducted over a broadening share of responsibility when we thought fit. The Simon Report might well provide the basis of Parliamentary discussion. We should do all in our power to help Indians to an increasing hand in their own Government, but on the basis of delegated powers so that our control could be resumed without serious disturbance if the delegated powers were found to work injuriously on the people of India. Even if that policy failed in the least, it would be local not general and the Central Government must remain intact and secure The duty of Parliament was to give India what we considered right and wise, not to give what was wrong and unwise in order to satisfy some not very representative Indian group. The Government's motion as adroitly framed with a view to dodging a division and nobody could vote against it. It was the duty of the House to give Government all possible support in repulsing the Labour amendment.

Back to Stuart Days

Giving a detailed critical analysis of the White Paper, Mr. Churchill examined the working of the Government under the scheme. He was amazed at the perverted ingenuity with which Government were arranging a struggle in India very similar to the struggle which convulsed England between

the Crown and Parliament during the whole of the 17th century. Warfare in the Provinces would proceed simultaneously with graver disturbances at the summit. Nobody here or in India accepted the scheme as a national policy. The Congress denounced it in unmeasured terms and Indian Liberals would only use it as a tool to extort other things. Government had great doubt whether they could cajole, persuade or coerce half of the Princes to come in.

The official Opposition would only take the scheme as a starting point for further departures and it was easy to remove the safeguards. If this Government left office, it would have parted with all powers to stay the process.

Britain's Greatest Gift

Concluding, Mr. Churchill said that Parliament should promise to give what it could freely and boldly and no more. It was a tragedy that the greatest gift Britain had given to India was not a gift which India needed most. During the last 50 years, its population had increased by a hundred millions by reason of the prevention of wars and famine and the control of infanticide and it would have been far better if the exertions of our devoted men and women could have resulted, not in the mere multiplication of teeming humanity on the lowest levels of subsistence, but in the substantial raising of the standard of life and labour and in smaller numbers.

The Lesson of Reforms

Earl Winterton declared that Mr. Churchill's views were wrong from the beginning to the end and pointed out with reference to Mr. Churchill's declaration that the Reforms had failed that India was the only Asiatic country which was free from serious disturbances. Its credit was as high as any continental country's and its budget compared to any country in the world. Vicissitudes of Parliamentary Government in Britain necessitated devising a permanent system of Government for India which subsequent Governments, whether Right or Left, would be unlikely to abolish and the sooner this was done the better, for nothing could be worse for Britain and British trade than a long interval. Earl Winterton stressed the impossibility of compelling India to buy British goods. He said that Lancashire depended on the willing buyer and would not have a willing buyer in India or anywhere else unless the people were favourably disposed to the Government of Britain.

Earl Winterton referred to Mr. Churchill's part in the constitution-making of South Africa and Ireland and expressed his belief in an inter-dependent and self-dependent Empire in a strategic and economic sense with as many units as possible self-governing and said that Indian fellow subjects should not receive a different treatment from the Dominion's subjects. Earl Winterton did not believe that the Simon Commission proposals would give greater stability of security than the Government's. He said that Moslems and other anti-Congress parties in India realised that provincial autonomy with an unchanged Central Government would entail continual friction and would give far less security than federation.

European Businessmen's Views

Earl Winterton declared that European businessmen in India knew better what was good for India than some of Mr. Churchill's vociferous supporters and said that the White Paper proposals represented the best scheme in the circumstances. It was not cast iron but a scheme to be considered best by men of both the Houses. It would not sabotage the long and honourable connection of Britain with India, but would re-ballast and relay the

great trunk line which always joined the interests and the welfare of the two peoples. He appealed to Mr. Churchill not to refuse to aid in the work of reconciliation and to participate in the Select Committee.

Independent Labourites

Mr. Maxton announced that Independent Labourites proposed to vote against the Government's motion, but would not support the Labourites' amendment. He said that the discussion hitherto centred on how much England was to interfere in the affairs of India and nobody suggested that she should not interfere at all, whereas he and his friends maintained that England had no right in India. The only decent thing England could do would be to withdraw. Mr. Maxton declared that if there was one country where advance was less than it was 150 years ago, it was India and we should leave India to work out her own salvation. The opponents might describe it as a cut and run policy, suggesting cowardice and the shirking of responsibility. He described it as giving human beings to whom the resources of the civilised world were open the responsibility of living their own lives and conducting their own affairs.

India Free and Independent

Mr. Maxton wanted to see the people of India free and independent and wanted to see them wipe out the rule of the Princes, money-lenders and millionaires and have a higher level of comfort and freedom. He wanted to help them in every way, but the fight must be a fight of the common people of India. They must banish the idea that getting the right to govern would be to remove the major problems of poverty and exploitation. They would still have to fight economic exploitation which was their real evil. Mr. Maxton thought that the proposal to establish a Select Committee would mean another five or six years delay and said that the movement they would wish to see opened in India was a movement represented by the Meerut prisoners by which people would be able to overthrow, not merely British rule, but the rule of all exploiters, whether British or Indian. These men now jailed, the movement was temporarily stilled, but while the Select Committee was proceeding discussing the details and trying to make the scheme more perfect, the movement would grow in strength and after the Committee had reported, the legislation would be ready and Mr. Maxton hoped that it would not be required by the Indian people.

Democratic Futility

Brigadier-General Sir Henry Page-Croft regretted the "carefully prepared attack" on Mr. Churchill and regretted also that Earl Winterton, formerly a stout constitutionalist, had been led into the paths of democratic futility. General Sir H. Page-Croft approved the Government's procedure especially the fact that nobody was bound by White Paper. He urged in the interests of Indians that the police and law and order should be kept under British control and contended that the Select Committee could not be impartial with regard to central responsibility which was Government's policy and the Committee would be largely composed of Government supporters. Sir H. Page-Croft said that opponents to the Government's policy believed that they represented the majority of the people in Britain. In any way, the House was not entitled to part with British territories without an emphatic expression of opinion of the people of Britain. Sir Henry Page-Croft contended that in view of the hostile attitude of the only existing political force, it was impossible to expect goodwill which was essential for the working of the safeguards. He said that if Britain left India, Soviet Russia

would almost inevitably cross the frontier. He implored Government not to pursue the policy if it wished to avoid terrible disaster.

Opposition Leader's Plea

Mr. Lansbury began with a tribute to Sir Henry Page-Croft's passionate sincerity although he took an altogether opposite line from him. He thought that Sir H. Page-Croft had made a profound mistake in forgetting that statesmen in this country of all parties had over a long period of years declared repeatedly that the end of British rule in India ought to be the rule in India by Indians. He said that he was unable to understand when he recollected the speeches made in that connection when he first became a member of the House as to why this proposal aroused opposition. He quoted a speech by Henry Fawcett in the first debate he had ever heard in the House to the effect that ultimately British association with the people of India would end in the Indian people establishing a self-governing state. Both Sir H. Page-Croft and Mr. Churchill seemed to forget that it was true of Queen Victoria in 1858 that the very inception of the Imperial relationship with India had always been made on the assumption that sooner or later India would govern herself.

Mr. Lansbury paid a tribute to Sir S. Hoare and Mr. Butler but declared that he was unable to accept the joint statement that peace reigned in India. Mr. Lansbury did not think that when they suppressed people, wiped out free speech and right of public meetings and denied contacts between very large sections of people, they could call it peace. To-day they were imprisoning men who, if they were called in conference, might even now help, find a solution. He was confident that whatever might pass in this country or India, unless they had the consent of the great mass of organised opinion in India they would be unable to administer whatever laws they were pleased to pass.

English Co-operation of Congress Leaders

The Labour Government tried to bring together the various elements in India as a sequel to the appointment of a Statutory Commission which had already been in existence, but it was well-known at the time that the condition of India was very bad. He paid a tribute to the two men who dealt with the most terrible situation not only in a statesmanlike but in a most sympathetic manner, namely, Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn. He thought Conservatives would agree that these men faced a situation which had already become dangerous. It was true they had been obliged to pass ordinances to suppress free speech and imprison thousands, but all the time they kept steadily in their mind that they must convince the Congress leaders that they were in earnest in asking their help for the Simon Commission. The underlying note of their policy when they decided to hold the Round Table Conference was that we should have continuous co-operation with the Indian people and continue discussions until they arrived at a conclusion satisfactory to India and ourselves. Mr. Lansbury regretted that when the National Government took the business in hand, the Round Table Conference was wound up. Mr. Gandhi went home and a conference of that description was never summoned again. Mr. Gandhi had been in prison nearly 16 months. We had a very truncated Round Table Conference with no complete Indian representation and we had the White Paper. They were all conscious that this was the most serious question. Parliament had discussed for a long time. The Labour Party understood that the White Paper or some proposition must pass in order at last to attempt to bring about a settlement and restore confidence between Indians and their British rulers.

Young India

"It is the young Nehru and his friends whom you have to enlist in this campaign," declared Mr. Lansbury who said that without the help of Young India, it did not matter what laws were passed and the proposals would fail. He proceeded to discuss the result of British rule in India declaring that India was naturally a very wealthy country, but none was able to deny the appalling statement on the conditions made by Miss Rathbone when one heard of the blessings we had brought to India. We must set against it that terrible indictment. We said we were the chosen people to rule India. As the world progressed, fewer people would accept that doctrine, certainly not the Indian people. Indians did not believe that we had given them unmixed blessings although they know individual Englishmen and Englishwomen had given tremendous services When he heard of the appalling labour conditions in India and was told that mills and mines were run by Indians he asked who took captalism to India, starting India on road to producing these evils. Capitalism was one of the curses we had given to the Eastern people. When he heard about competition in the East between Japan, China, and India, he recalled how the machinery for the mills had been exported from Britain to compete with Lancashire and Yorkshire in Eastern markets. We could not blame the Japanese and the Indians but the system that believed in making money anywhere under any conditions.

Labour and the Select Committee

As regards the attitude of the Labour Party to the Select Committee, Mr. Lansbury said that if our motion was defeated as very probably it would be, he would most certainly prefer that no Committee was set up for the reason that we did not think there was any use trying to carry business through without Congress being represented. "We think you will waste the time of Parliament and the Committee and also our time in trying to do the impossible. What I believe we adopted with Australia, namely, to say to Indians: 'You yourself the Princes and Commoners, should frame a constitution and tell us what you want' Surely we should not want Indians to frame a constitution for us. They know better than anyone else how to manage one another" No one would dream of allowing a foreign power to put forward a constitution for us. Why should not we say that Indians themselves should do it He remembered it was said to him at the Round Table Conference, "These wretched Indians do not know what they want". But it was never put to them that way. He reiterated the Labour policy which Mr. MacDonald and himself helped to formulate, namely, that since the commencement of the British control of India, successive British Governments had given pledges to the peoples of that country and the Labour Party desired to see these pledges were honoured. It was this point which divided Labour and Conservatives and in the White Paper they reaffirmed the right of Indians to full self-government and self-determination.

Policy Based on Realism

Mr. Baldwin said they were approaching the end of a momentous debate conducted admirably from every point of view. He contrasted this with the debate on the Government of India Bill of 1919 which passed the second reading on one day with a sparse attendance. He said he would devote himself to giving the House secondarily and his own Party primarily the reasons which induced him in 1929 to take the line of action to which he adhered now He would show Lord Wolmer that he had been actuated by realism and that the sentimentalism of which Lord Wolmer spoke was with Mr. Baldwin's opponents. Mr. Baldwin said great as was his friend-

ship and admiration for Lord Irwin, it was not friendship which made him take his view because he never took his political view from friendship. He asked himself what was right course to preserve. One of the first principles of the Primerose League was the maintenance of the Empire and they decided after mature reflection that if he went forward, they might save India for the Empire, but otherwise they might lose her. It was that belief that actuated him. Mr. Baldwin did not take exception to the line that many friends took and respected their sincerity though he thought they were wrong. But there would be no bad blood between them.

No Salvation in Ballot Box

He did not believe that the salvation of man lay in the ballot box. He never paid lip service to democracy, but it was necessary for a public man to work in which he found himself. Their environment was democratic. It was not necessarily perfect, but they had got to work it. They were living in the 20th century, though many of his friends would never realise it. During and since the war we had passed three generations of evolution, for which reason many people were unable to reconcile themselves to the age in which they lived. Post-war world was full of pre-War minds. Mr. Baldwin said that one of Mr. Chruchill's greatest mistake was that he did not remain with the Tories when they went into the wilderness. Therefore, Mr. Churchill was unable to understand what passed in their minds during those years on the point to which they had moved.

Indians were now asking for the responsibility which we had repeatedly said was their goal. Mr. Baldwin recalled the case of Ireland and said when the settlement was reached in 1921, he supported it not because he liked it, but because he believed that it was the only thing that could be done. He warned the House against allowing India similarly to be introduced into Britain's domestic politics and said that the result would be chaos and the position would end in the same way as Ireland. He was not going to be too late this time. Mr. Baldwin recalled that Britain went to India primarily for trade but was drawn into fighting because trade was interfered with. He said that after the Mutiny, some of Britain's greatest administrators had been to India. But they did not visualise the British Raj, but India which would be ultimately taught to stand on her own feet.

Firm Policy A Success

Mr. Baldwin was perfectly convinced, as had been said in some quarters though he knew it was denied by others, that by no means on earth, could they have got an improvement of the conditions in India, and the practical cessation of civil disobedience if the firm policy of the Viceroy and Sir S. Hoare had not been accompanied by progress in preparing constitutional reforms. A great mistake was sometimes made by those who held, what to him, were rather extreme views. Labourites would concede to what others called the extreme party in India all they wanted and believed that outside the Congress the rest of India consisted of apathetic peasants and Princes. He did not think that it was a true conception. It must be remembered that it was always the Extreme Party that first formed the organisation.

There were other people in India and Indians in the services who were as moderate minded as ourselves, but, who were less vocal at present. It would be a profound disappointment to all who believed in reforms if those elements, with others did not make their weight felt when responsibility was once thrown on Indian shoulders. The Joint Committee would be established almost immediately. Upon it would be laid one of the greatest

responsibilities ever placed on a body representing the two Houses of Parliament. It was work which ought to be peculiarly appropriate to the Conservative reform. The Conservative was not Junker, no Fascist, but a man who believed in constitutional progress, wanted to serve his country and see the people contended and happy.

Dangers of Delay

There were countless materials with which to build the edifice. Let the work be taken in hand in a spirit conscious of responsibility and determination to do the piece of work for this country, for India and for the Empire, which might, through times of doubt and difficulty, cement the bonds between us and lead to real progress. He realised and felt the dangers and the difficulties of the course we were pursuing. He would not be speaking honestly if he did not say, that in his view, both dangers and difficulties were ahead, but, convinced as he was of this, he was still more profoundly convinced that the difficulties and dangers that would be run, if we did not take this step, would be infinitely greater, infinitely more difficulty.

The Greatest Issue

Sir R. Horne declared that hitherto he had suspended judgment but it was no longer possible for any member to remain quiescent and every member was about to be forced into a duty after the Select Committee had reported to record his vote. He must therefore have reason for voting. Sir R. Horne paid a tribute to the unquestioned sincerity and patriotism of Sir S Hoare who had as great a political flare as any man with whom he (Sir H. Horne) had worked in addition to the quality of a balanced mind and coolness of judgment which were the admiration of all his friends. The Conservative Party owed Sir S. Hoare a great debt of gratitude because he had demonstrated that it only required sufficient firmness and courage to make India an orderly State.

The truth was that no member of the House could escape the burden which had been planted on the shoulders of all. They were confronted with the greatest issue that had ever come before this or any other Parliament and it rested on their individual consciences to meet the issue squarely and honestly. He would assume that something in the shape of responsibility must be given to India and he also took into account that we were still to be the judge of the time, the degree and the opportunity. The Select Committee should keep these circumstances in view.

The Safeguards

Safeguards were never more necessary than in the present circumstances. They were giving parliamentary democracy to 350 millions at a time when many countries who tried it were despairingly turning from it. It required a meticulous examination of these propositions before we decided on its particular form. The only cement in India was British influence which must be weakened if the scheme was adopted.

Dealing with the safeguards, he said it would be far better to have no safeguards than ineffective safeguards. There was something to be said for granting a constitution which was carefully and efficiently safeguarded, but nothing to be said for granting a constitution with safeguards which irritated and were ineffective. Thus they got the worst of both the worlds.

He could well imagine a point when they might find it most difficult to get the Government in power to take any action supporting the Viceroy. They must depend upon safeguards which operated long before that particular point was reached. With the greatest diffidence he approached the

matter of law and order. Sir J. Simon knew more about the question than he could ever learn, but he (Sir R. Horne) was never able to understand the reason why the Simon Commission had reached the conclusion that law and order could be left to the Provinces. At the same time, it was quite obvious that the Simon Commission had some doubts in that regard because they provided for a minister for that purpose which had disappeared in the present plan.

Control Over The Police

It was quite possible to imagine giving large self-government to the Provinces without giving control of the Army and Police to the popularly elected body. The question of police was the lynchpin of the whole system of the Government of India.

"I will rather give constitution at present proposed if you give me control of the police and have no responsible government at the centre with the control of the police in the Provinces in the hand of Native Ministers." The establishment of the two new provinces would entail more expense. He hoped that the Select Committee would particularly consider the extra expense as taxation meant a great deal to the Indian people. He believed that 300 out of the 350 millions would prefer to continue as they were than have a government of their own with higher taxation. All this theory of the people wanting to govern themselves even at a higher cost was entirely fallacious. The proposed Government would be much more expensive than the present. Before Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, India was run cheaper than almost any other country in the world. These costs had greatly increased in recent years. He thought that the proposed representation of the Princes did not unduly exaggerate their importance. He referred to the lack of provision for weightage in either assembly to compensate for the Princes who were unrepresented.

The Princes Safeguard The Weakest

Sir Robert Horne described the safeguard of the introduction of the Princes as the weakest. Referring to "the somewhat heated altercation" between the Viceroy and the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, he declared that from personal knowledge, "Ranji's" devotion to India was only equalled by his loyalty to the Empire. Therefore, his attitude had caused him certain disquietude. He spoke in no carping spirit. His one desire was to reach a solution best for the welfare of India and Britain.

Developing Greater India

Sir John Simon recalled that the Statutory Commission was concerned with a problem within British India. It was perfectly plain that the Act of Parliament under which they were appointed by its preamble deliberately conceived that they were pledged to the pursuit of the Montagu Policy. If ever there was a deliberate decision countersigned by the people of every part of the country and both Houses of Parliament, it was that embodied in the Preamble to the Government of India Act. Therefore, the Statutory Commission began its task upon the assumption that the Montagu Policy represented the accepted policy and the only proposals worthy of consideration were the proposals conceived in the spirit of the announcement of 20th August 1917. Sir John Simon continued that the Simon Commission had concluded that it was not a wise development of a Constitution for British India to seek to establish at the Centre a Government of a responsible kind. Sir John Simon quoted the letter of the then Prime Minister relating to the future relations between British India and the States and added that it depended entirely on whether crtain conditions could be ful-

filled by the Princes. If it were true that we had now an opportunity to develop a Greater India, were these opportunities to be rejected because of the conditions which the Princes had clearly indicated or were we to face the risk which might be involved in so tremendous an experiment? He himself wanted to see the prospect of Greater India much more thoroughly investigated, including the question of the Princes, before rejecting the scheme.

No Central Responsibility Without Entry of States

He was not prepared to depart from the deliberate views of the Simon Report without good reasons. A new fact had emerged, namely, the declaration of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on 19th January to the effect that Federation was the true future of India, that the main principle was accepted and a larger proportion of the States would enter the Federation. The declaration and its implications were events of the greatest importance. If they were not fulfilled, he said, with the greatest firmness and without any qualification whatever (he understood it to be the Government's and Sir Samuel Hoare's policy), it was not proposed in the White Paper that there should be development of self-government at the Centre. The only condition on which we could hope to develop responsible government at the Centre was to develop this Greater India. If that were done, that amalgamation might well have within it the seeds of satisfactory progress. He begged the House before rejecting that to think twice of the result in India if we promoted a division between the Princes and British India for which we had a special responsibility. Sir John Simon recalled Mr. MacDonald's reference in Geneva in connection with disarmament to the risk that doubtless existed in every attempt to arrange for disarmament against what was likely to happen if one did nothing. We had to do some thing of the same sort here.

Control Over The Police

Sir John Simon discussed at length the question submitted to him by Sir Samuel Hoare concerning the transfer of police and law and order in the Provinces. Sir John Simon recalled that the police in India were a provincial service. At one time, he was attracted by the idea of centralising the police, but was convinced that it was a wholly impracticable idea. India was too big and if one had an organisation at the Centre, one would require a separate department for each province, reverting to the same position as before. The superior officers were recruited on an All-India basis and the Secretary of State would continue to have responsibility towards them. There was nothing in the Government's proposal suggesting that it would be changed.

Explaining the reasons for not making the police a reserved subject, Sir John Simon said that Provincial legislators felt no responsibility for the police and frequently attacked it, sometimes in the highest degree, unnecessarily and unjustly refusing to vote the necessary funds. The result was that unless the system was changed, the police tended to be regarded as an agent of the alien bureaucracy. This was most unfair because the police did very essential work sometimes unpopular and dangerous without which the districts would fall into utter anarchy. The more you put the police in a special position the more you encouraged this attitude towards them. The Simon Commission unanimously came to the conclusion that the Provincial Governments should be made responsible for the police. Holding firmly the conviction that the British race had contributed great and good things to the orderly development of India, he asked the House to consider whether

there was not a contribution of all. The reason why Indian politicians were so obsessed with the idea of Parliamentary institutions was because we had told them this was the way of ordinary freedom. Concluding, Sir John Simon asked Parliament to ponder whether they ought not now to show themselves willing to discusss openly this evolution of Indian Government with good sense and courage and at the same time realise that the road we had been set by the declaration of Parliament and the policy of country was the road which should lead by such stages and modes as seemed fair and just to the realisation of Indian self-Government.

Cowardly Abdication

Col. Wedgwood denounced the scheme as a cowardly abdication by Parliament which in the future would be unable to ask questions on such matters as the Meerut sentences, the hours of labour work in the mines and the use of troops in dealing with peasants in Indian States. He disliked abdication in any circumstances, but especially abdication in favour of a power which would be worse than the power exercised by the House. They were giving India a constitution so conservative that could never be changed. They were giving power into the hands of a narrow class of Princes who were absolute in their own area and elected members who would be millionaires or nominees of millionaire Parties. Mr. Wedgwood described the seats for the depressed classes as a device to solve the conscience of the Secretary of State and said that the people of India did not want the scheme. Mr. Gandhi did not ask for it. It was Indian politicians who were asking and who would benefit by it, not self-government, but Venetian oligarchy. Col. Wedgwood declared of course the Princes would enter the Federation. They had sacrificed nothing and gained power to dictate to the Government of India which would be powerless to take up the ordinary English standard of administration. In the Federation, we were handing over power to people we were unable to trust. He indicated that he saw only hope in the Provincial electorates which might reduce the power of Indian politician in the All-India Assembly.

Time For Action

Mr. Robert Bernays objected to the slighting references made to Indian politicians and pointed out that Dr. Sapru and others had made great sacrifices of time and money to help in the work of framing the Constitution. We owed them a great debt for standing by us when they had many inducements to desert us. Mr. Bernays urged that the Princes entering the Federation should establish some degree of constitutional rule in the States and said that anyone visiting some more backward States must be horrified at the autocratic conditions prevailing there. He also expressed his misgiving in regard to restricted franchise for women.

Declaring that the time for inquiry was over and the time for action had arrived Mr. Bernays hoped that the Select Committee would conclude its labours in August if only for the sake of Indian politicians who would have visited Britain four times in three years. He suggested the announcement of the appointment of a Committee on the Reserve Bank as a token of good faith. He concluded contesting the views of Mr. Churchill's associates which would entail reinforcing the Army in India and would lead to the speedy breaking up of the Empire.

Wider Female Enfranchisement

Miss Rathbone complained of the inadequacy of the provisions relating to women and asked how Government were to deal with illiteracy, child

marriage, the purdah and maternal mortality. She urged a wider enfranchisement of women in which connection she advocated a reversion to the Simon Commission's recommendations. She appealed also for the creation of a better atmosphere by the release of the arrested leaders who had power to make or break the constitution.

Federation Proposals

Sir J. S. Wardlaw-Milne pointed out that some of those who were parties to the 1919 Act were offering strong opposition to the present proposals and expressed the opinion that unless we were prepared to repudiate that Act, we must advance. The main objections to the White Paper centred round the Federation proposals. Sir J. S. Wardlaw-Milne pointed out that Federation was not only suggested by the Simon Commission but two whole chapters were occupied in it. Sir J. S. Wardlaw-Milne said that Indianisation had been proceeding for many years and declared that Sir S. Hoare had fulfilled the letter and spirit of every pledge he had ever given with regard to safeguards. Sir J. S. Wardlaw-Milne said that safety might consist of giving provincial autonomy while maintaining the hold of Centre. He pointed out that two vital matters, namely, the financial stability of the Federal units and the establishment of the Reserve Bank, must be considered before Federation operated. He suggested considering the desirability of separating the functions of the Viceroy from those of the Governor-General and concluded that the pace of progress of these reforms could not be set by the British but only in India.

HOUSE OF LORDS

"Reforms to be Reasoned and Unfettered"

Lord Rankeillour, formerly Deputy Speaker Hope, raised the question of the precise procedure of Government's next step in Indian reforms. He emphasised that the reforms should be reasoned and unfettered, and by an Act of Parliament and the precedent of the Anglo-Irish Treaty should not be followed as Parliament was then confronted with a treaty which they were unable to amend. He inquired how the Indian representatives whom the Joint Committee might consult would be selected.

Gradual Reforms

Lord Salisbury supported Lord Rankeillour's questions and opined that whatever the Government did or the Joint Committee said and whatever the final form of the Bill the settlement of the reforms question would inevitably be gradual for years and Parliament would have to settle the difficulties. He warned the Government that it was dangerous to try to jump all stages simultaneously.

Parliament's Decision

Lord Reading was unable to conceive that any procedure adopted by the Government would deprive the Members of Parliament of an opportunity of forming their own conclusions. He expressed admiration for the way Sir Samuel Hoare and other British delegates had conducted the affairs of the Round Table Conference and devoted themselves to striving to find a solution of the problem.

Indian Financial Position

Lord Peel emphasised the strength of the Indian financial position and said that the debt was practically entirely represented by assets. No

country was comparable to India in that respect. He opposed the suggestion that partisans holding strong views should be excluded from the Select Committee and said that it would be unfortunate if men like Mr. Churchill and Lord Lloyd were not invited to serve.

Joint Select Committee

Lord Irwin for the Government said that the Joint Select Committee, which Parliament would be invited before Easter to set up, would not deal with the Bill but with the full proposals which the Government propose to issue in the next few weeks as a White Paper and as material for the Bill when the time for legislation was reached. The motion which both Houses of Parliament would be invited to adopt indicating the expediency of setting up a Select Committee would be a motion empowering the Committee to consult with representatives of Indian States and British India and after consultation was concluded to report on Government proposals. Lord Irwin assured the House that the Government were not insensible to the difficulties connected with the questions raised. They were sensible to the necessity of the utmost caution and deliberation in approaching the solution, but he would not deal with them in detail.

After indicating that the Select Committee would not deal with the Bill but with the White Paper, Lord Irwin said that generally the procedure suggested secured a wider field for Parliamentary examination than otherwise securable. He agreed that Parliament must be free and unfettered. It was largely for that reason that the Government decided to follow the procedure of laying proposals in the form of a White Paper before Parliament was committed to the second reading of the Bill even theoretically before it was committed to the first reading. Although the procedure was novel nobody would assert that the Government failed to observe constitutional correctness.

"Real And Effective Consultations"

Having recalled similar procedure originally contemplated in 1927 Lord Irwin said that there had been no change in the intention of successive Governments since then that the consultation of Indian representatives through a Select Committee should be real and effective by which they would have an opportunity of holding the attention of Parliament. Parliament procedure precluded Indians being actually members of the Committee and signing the Report. Moreover Select Committees were largely masters of their own procedure, but Government intended to put a motion establishing the Committee in such a form as to permit the fullest consultation between Indians and Members of Parliament and they would earnestly hope that the Committee would gladly avail of such consultation for the better discharge of the great task.

The debate thereafter concluded.

CHAMBER OF PRINCES

White Paper Vetoed

Apart from the contents of three resolutions discussed by the Chamber under the presidentship of the Viceroy on March 25 the tone and tenure of the speeches made were eloquent of the Princes' feelings that the Federal scheme now offered is far from what they had in mind when they accorded enthusiastic support to the Federal idea at the First Round Table Conference.

A Sensation

So keen and almost so bitter was the feeling of the Princes, that during the Chamber's proceedings, the Viceroy—in his capacity as presi-

dent—felt called upon to pull up no less a person than the retiring Chancellor, the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar. Reading a manuscript report of the activities of the Princes' delegation at the Third Round Table Conference, the Jamsaheb used fairly strong terms in pointing out that the position of the Princes in relation both to the Paramount Power and to the Federation would, under the White Paper scheme, be anything but what the Princes desired.

Viceroy's Intervention

The Viceroy pointed out that, while he had no intention of interfering with the Jamsaheb's expression of personal views, he would not like the Chancellor to draw too gloomy a picture of all sorts of dangers arising out of federation. An exchange of words took place the Chancellor maintaining that he was not over-drawing the picture. The Viceroy sticking to his decision, the Jamsaheb abruptly dropped his speech.

Triple Opposition

The three resolutions discussed by the Chamber firstly, expressed the Princes' dissatisfaction with their relations with the Paramount Power and asked for judicial settlement of question at issue; secondly, asked for better safeguards of internal sovereignty of the States; and thirdly expressed dissatisfaction with the proposed scheme for representation of States in the Federal legislature. All three resolutions, however, kept the door open for further negotiations.

Jam Saheb's Speech

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar said: "In view of the fact that the proposed federal scheme depends on the intimate co-operation of two incompatible systems of means, we have to scrutinise the proposed scheme from two distinct points of view:—

Firstly, we have to see whether the form of constitution is such as to protect the States in its enjoyment of sovereignty, and

Secondly, to consider whether the tendencies to which the new constitution will give rise. are such as to preserve the effective form of ancient ideals of institutions of Indian monarchy upon which the strength and stability of States and their utility in the new constitution will depend.

On the basis of resolutions *sine qua non* and safeguards which we laid down last year, there are three essential points which the constitution must secure, if it is to be safe for us to join. First, it should contain safeguards necessary to preserve the States from being gradually swallowed up. If we look at the history of the United States of America, we see that the powers of the Federal Government are steadily increasing at the expense of the power of the States. The Federal Court which is intended to protect the States from the encroachment of the Federal Government upon their rights has been instrumental in increasing the power of the Federal Government. I would ask your Highnesses to remember that in America, Canada, Australia and other Federations, there is only one political ideal of democracy by which the centre and units alike are animated and when conflicts arose, the centre won the day. If this struggle happens where there is no inherent conflict of political ideas between the centre and units, what will happen when monarchy and democracy have their stronghold in the units and the centre respectively?

"Now there is no provision in the Federal constitution which is proposed for us in the White Paper that effectively protects the rights of units against the centre. It cannot protect us against day-to-day policy,

democratic in its inspiration of administration and legislature in which we shall be perpetually in the minority."

The Viceroy here reminded the Jam Saheb not to transgress the limits of the Third Round Table Conference report.

Jam Saheb: "I am only expressing my personal views."

The Viceroy: I have no intention of stopping His Highness from making such remarks. But I would leave it to the goodness of His Highness not to draw too gloomy a picture of all sorts of dangers arising out of the Federation.

Jam Saheb: I thought I was not over-drawing the picture.

The Viceroy felt that they should keep entirely within the subject matter of the Third Round Table Conference when the statement which His Highness was to make, referred to the work done in the Round Table Conference.

There followed an exchange of words from either side, after which the Chancellor cut short the reading of his manuscript.

Paramountcy

The Chancellor moved: "This Chamber, while placing on record necessary to arrive at an equitable and satisfactory settlement of the Paramountcy problem by the method of discussion and negotiation between the Viceroy and representatives of the Princes Chamber, expresses its sincere thanks to Lord Willingdon for the sustained and sympathetic interest which he has displayed in the negotiations of the last two years, endorses and affirms the position so far taken by the representatives of the Princes; emphasises that the main essential to a desired settlement is the determination of justiciable issues by judicial process; and authorises these Princes to continue these negotiations with the sympathetic help of His Excellency.

The Maharao of Cutch seconded the resolution on the question of paramountcy.

The Viceroy expressed his personal view that the result of the resolution would be to bring to an end the arrangement under which many matters settled by personal negotiations between the Viceroy and the Prince concerned, and hereafter such matters would be adjudicated by some sort of judicial tribunal, His Excellency was inclined to believe, was not the best method to deal with the problem.

Safeguards

The Maharaja of Patiala then moved the following resolution:

"This Chamber places on record its strong opinion that the entry of the Princes into Federation depends upon inclusion in the constitution and treaties of accession, essential safeguards for which the States have consistently pressed. They are prepared to authorise their representatives to carry on further negotiations in London with the object of securing all safeguards essential for the protection of the States and for preservation of their sovereignty and autonomy and with the object of assistance in the framing of a scheme which would assure such measure of general agreement as may be necessary to ensure the stability and smooth working of the new constitution."

Room For More Safeguards

His Highness stressed the importance of securing the essential safeguards before the Princes finally agreed to enter into Federation. He was glad that the assurance, given by the Viceroy that the White Paper was not the last word on the subject, and that the Princes could press any provi-

sion for further safeguards, has averted a crisis in their camp and hoped that as a result of further negotiations they would be able to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement.

The Nawab of Malerkotla supported the Maharaja of Patiala.

Incomplete Picture

The Maharaja of Bikaner supporting the resolution, made a most impressive speech and repudiated the suggestion that he and the Maharaja of Patiala were supporting the Federation, because of personal considerations. He made it perfectly clear that he had still to negotiate for the inclusion of safeguards which had never been considered as unreasonable. The present suggestion was admittedly an incomplete picture and it would be premature to come to any final judgment.

A Timely Warning

There were those among them who were apprehensive of their being able to retain their soverignty and autonomy under the new order of things. But they should await the completion of the picture. Those who thought that the Princes would be swallowed by democracy, would do well to remember what was the constitution that brought about the fall of the Russian Empire. Was not that happening in British India, already, affecting the States? Why should they be afraid of the future?

He warned his brother Princes that now was the most opportune time to enter into Federation when safeguards and other safety measures were being provided. But whether they entered into it or not, the progress of British India towards democracy could not be prevented and at a future date the Princes might find themselves in a more difficult position with all the desire of the British Crown, to protect their rights and interests.

He stressed again that the time for the decision was not now but when the picture would be completed after the sittings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee when they would see the provisions of the Constitution Act and when they would be asked to sign the Instruments of Accession.

Maharaja Alwar's Support

The Maharaja of Alwar also supported the resolution and expressed the hope that India would soon be able to attain Dominion Status which they also so devoutly wished. He, however, dwelt on the necessity of the provision of safeguards in respect of internal autonomy and the sovereignty of Indian States.

Allocation of Seats

In the absence of Maharaja of Jhalwar, the Maharaja of Patiala moved the following resolution:—

"The Chamber of Princes records its disappointment at the tentative outline and basis of the proposals of His Majesty's Government for allocation of seats to States *inter se*, but in view of His Majesty's Government's proposals being only illustrative and the Viceroy has been pleased to invite reasonable amendments to make it generally acceptable, the Chamber is prepared to make a further attempt towards that end."

After the resolution was carried by show of hands, the Chamber adjourned till 3-30 p.m.

Viceroy Thanked

His Highness, the Jamsaheb in moving a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy, again stressed the importance of the provision of further safeguards for the Princes in the Federation scheme before they could

make up their minds finally as to whether they proposed to join it. He was glad at His Excellency's assurance that the last word was not said with regard to the question of allocation of seats, in the Council of State, for States as members. The Maharaja also alluded to the urgency of bringing all States in direct relation with the Government of India, including the Simla Hill States. He hoped that an early decision would result from the discussion between the Viceroy and the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes regarding the admission of smaller States, electoral colleges for the Chamber of Princes.

PUBLIC MEN'S VIEWS

Bombay Merchants

The following statement was signed by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan, Messrs. H. P. Mody, J. B. Petit, L. R. Tairsee, M. C. Chagla, R. R. Bakhale, Govindlal S. Motilal, A. D. Shroff, P. N. Shende, Mathuradas Vussonji, Manu Subedar, R. P. Masani, D. G. Dalvi, B. N Gokhale; R. K. Tatnis, Sir M. Visweswaraya, Sir Chunilal V. Mehta and Dr. M. D. D. Gilder.

MISTRUST OF INDIAN

A correct appreciation of the constitutional proposals contained in the White Paper can only be made in the light of the avowed object with which the Round Table Conferences were held. It is well known that the purpose for which the British Government solicited the support and continued co-operation of Indian delegates at the three Round Table Conferences was to establish Responsible Government in India subject to certain reservations and safeguards, demonstrably in the interests of India and subsisting for a transitional period, so that India might become after as short a period as was reasonably possible, a full-fledged Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The pronouncements of Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy and of responsible British statesmen kept this objective ever present in the minds of the Indian people during the last three years. It may be recalled in this connection that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in a speech at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference in London in 1928 referring to India, foreshadowed the birth of a new Dominion during the short space he then declared of even a few months.

VERY RETROGRADE

Events which led to the boycott of the Simon Commission and the subsequent decision of His Majesty's Government to invite Indian representatives to meet, on a footing of equality, British representatives at a Round Table Conference and the actual proceedings of the three Round Table Conferences have also made another thing abundantly clear. It has been recognised that the proposed constitution must be such as would satisfy, in a large measure, the political aspirations of the Indian people so as to enable them to settle down and direct their energies to constructive work for the moral and material advancement of the country.

The signatories are compelled to record their opinion that the proposals embodied in the White Paper, if they are examined from the point of view of these essentials, grievously fall short of the national demands, while in certain respects they are of so retrograde a character as to indefinitely postpone the attainment of real freedom by the country.

The White Paper scrupulously avoids the use of the expression "Dominion" and "Dominion Status." The opening para of the White Paper refers to Responsible Government being qualified by limitations "during a period

of transition" but there is not a single proposal intended to define the length of this transitional stage at the end of which the country can reasonably hope to attain full Dominionhood. Indian opinion can never reconcile itself to a constitution which does not provide for its automatic expansion without a periodical reference to Parliament

Responsibility on the part of the future Federal Legislature would be itself facilitated, if there were an assurance that these adjustments were capable of termination at the end of a reasonably short and specified period.

RESPONSIBLE CENTRE

Indian public opinion had unequivocally declared itself against changes in the constitution of the Provinces unless they were followed by the simultaneous introduction and operation of responsibility at the centre either on a federal basis, if that was possible, or in British India alone if Federation failed to materialise for any reason. After even more than three months since the close of the last Round Table Conference, Government do not seem to be in a position to assure that a sufficient number of States will enter the Federation.

The attitude of the States as shown in the reported proceedings of the meeting of the Chamber of Princes does not make the situation in any way hopeful.

RESERVE BANK

The White Paper has laid down another condition precedent to the creation of the Federation viz. the establishment of a Reserve Bank, a condition that was introduced for the first time at the Third Round Table Conference.

This prerequisite is hardly fair in view of the frank admission which the White Paper makes that the conditions necessary for the successful establishment and operation of such a Bank, depending as they do on world economic conditions, are not altogether within the control of Government.

Nor in the opinion of the Indian public, is the financial policy of the Indian Government conducive to the early establishment of such a Bank.

INDEFINITE HOLD-UP

Nor is this all. The new constitution itself stands in jeopardy of being held in abeyance for an indefinite period if, in the opinion of Government, "financial economic or political conditions, were such as to render it impracticable to start the new Federal and Provincial Governments on a stable basis." It is a matter for regret that the White Paper should contemplate the enactment of transitory provisions enabling the new Provincial Governments to be brought into being in advance of the changes at the centre, provisions which have never been the subject of discussion at any of the sessions of the Round Table Conference.

In view of this formidable list of conditions precedent and the contemplated enactment of transitory provisions, it will be difficult for Indian opinion to feel convinced by the assurance that Federation will not be left as a mere contingency of the future

ULTIMATE TRANSFER

Beyond stating that the Departments of Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical Administration will be entrusted to the Governor-General personally and in these matters he will be responsible to His Majesty's Government and Parliament, the White Paper does not contemplate any provisions which assure India of their ultimate transfer to popular control.

The suggestion that the Army Member should be appointed from amongst the elected members of the Federal Legislature has not found favour with Government, while the proposal that, even during the stage of transition, the military budget should be prepared by joint consultations between the responsible Federal Ministers and the Army Department has not been totally accepted.

ARMY INDIANISATION

The proposals embodied in the White Paper do not contemplate conferring on the future central Indian Legislature adequate powers to speed up the process of Army Indianisation, to reduce the strength of the British Army in the country with a view to its eventual abolition to effectively control the policy regarding the military training of Indians, to throw open all arms of the defence forces of the country to all-Indian nationals irrespective of class, creed or community, so that complete nationalisation of the defence machinery of the country (including the Army, the Naval and the Air Forces) within a reasonably short period might be achieved, and appreciably to reduce the present burden of military expenditure, which is out of all proportion to the revenues and resources of the country.

SHADOWY

The proposals regarding finance will undoubtedly render central responsibility shadowy, the limitations devised in this connection being of such a character as inevitably to prove a fruitful source of constant friction. As the bulk of central revenues will constitute a consolidated fund not capable of being touched by the future Federal Government, there will be very little scope left for the cabinet and the legislature to initiate measures for the moral and material development of the country.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri

The Reserve Bank may not have been started; or financial, economic or political conditions may render it impracticable to start the new Federal and Provincial Governments on a stable basis. Mark the phrase 'political conditions.' Who does not know the acute political distemper which now taxes the wisdom both of Britain and of India? Who does not know that Federation is the one remedy which has been hit upon as promising relief? It is a curious fear that the application of the remedy may be made impossible by the disease itself or by some new and virulent form that it may assume. If a sinister turn should happen, reasonable persons would only say that delay or denial of the remedy was responsible. The soil and the circumstances of India are likely to throw up fresh turmoil every now and then. History will not exonerate those who give time for the malady to grow worse with the medicine locked up in their chest. No plea of lack of warning is possible. It has been sounded without end, for a long time, and in every accent and pitch. Allow no interval except the briefest between provincial autonomy and central responsibility; if the second step be not sure to follow, do not take the first.

SAFEGUARDS

Lord Irwin promised that the safeguards inserted in the new constitution would be in the interests of India. It is admitted by the authors of the White Paper the safeguards proposed in it "have been framed in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom." These new words may mean one of two things. They may mean that the two countries have become so intertwined that what is good for the one is good for the other as well. This idea, however, is too idealistic to be true and may be dis-

missed. The intended meaning, then, is that, while such interests as are safeguarded are common to both countries, none are safeguarded which are exclusively those of India or those of the United Kingdom. In a constitution for India, there could be no harm in safeguarding her interests, though they be here alone; in fact if the constitution be devised by her children or their well-wishers, that should be the case again and again. It is strange that the intention, so nobly prominent in Lord Irwin's declaration, is to some extent expressly disavowed But are there no safeguards exclusively in the interests of the United Kingdom? Let us examine a few. Take provisions 122 and 123 on page 59. The first begins:

"The Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures will have no power to make laws subjecting in British India any British subject (including companies, partnerships or associations constituted by or under Federal or Provincial law), in respect of taxation, the holding of property of any kind, the carrying on of any profession, trade, business or occupation, or the employment of any servants or agents, or in respect of residence or travel within the boundaries of the Federation, to any disability or discrimination based upon his religion, descent, caste, colour or place of birth." The words "any British subject" include the white people of the Dominions and of Fiji and Kenya in which the inhabitants of India are subjected to disabilities and indignities. Is India to be deprived for ever of the power of retaliation? She has already taken legislative power for the purpose, though she has forborne so far to exercise it. Then there is the famous resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, empowering India to restrict immigration into her territory as it may suit her and discountenancing the disabilities to which her nationals are subjected in parts of the British Commonwealth. No Indian can claim to speak for the people of the United Kingdom. But no Indian will admit that it is in the interests of his country to take away by an express provision in her constitution the power to retaliate, that she has though it be unimplemented, and the benefit of the doctrine of inter-commonwealth propriety, though it be only a pious hope. Before leaving this topic it is worth while to take note of another distinction made between India and the Dominions, though it be purely academic. It has been claimed by the Dominions that they have the right in certain circumstances of excluding even the people of Great Britain, and the right seems to have been exercised once or twice. The Imperial Parliament, of course, is proverbially omnipotent, there being only one facetious exception. There is no conceivable circumstance in which the people of India would wish to keep out those of the United Kingdom, if the power was left to them by implication. To deny the power in terms to any people is to discriminate against them and to imply that it might not be safe to entrust them with it. Provision 123 wears the aspect of reciprocity between India and the United Kingdom and goes back to an idea agreed upon at the 1930 session of the Round Table Conference. But then the subject had to be settled by negotiation between the two parties and a convention had to be reached regulating the equality between the two communities. It certainly was not intended that the present constitution should lay down the principle in unqualified terms without giving our experts an opportunity of examining how the principle would work out in practice and how if it led to actual hardships these could be mitigated. So long as India is not fully self-governing, her power of negotiation with Great Britain is limited. 123 therefore is somewhat in the nature of an ex-parte arrangement and the claim cannot be sustained except verbally that it is framed in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom.

PUBLIC SERVICES

When the question of Public Services was first considered at the Round Table Confernce, Indian delegates agreed that a certain measure of recruitment in Great Britain should continue, but they stipulated that the entire control should vest for the future in the Government of India. The White Paper declines to make this transfer without a word of explanation. The Secretary of State's Council is to be kept in being for the one purpose of protecting the Services; and the Government of India, in command of the lives and fortunes of 350 millions of people and purporting to march forward to Dominion Status, must appear before the world as not competent to appoint, punish and dismiss their own servants. The personal concurrence of the Governor-General and of the Governors is required before the India Government can censure, transfer or lower the emoluments of a member of certain services. Can this humiliating position of the Government of India be described as subserving the common interests of India and the United Kingdom? Paragraph 101 on page 53 embodies a safeguard of an unusual nature on behalf of European and Anglo-Indian education. A reduction of grant-in-aid in this sphere, unless it is a reduction *pro rata* with the general educational grant-in-aid, requires a three-fourths majority in the Provincial Legislature concerned. Is this discrimination in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom?

Paragraph 119 enumerates the subjects in respect of which legislation in the Federal Legislature would require the previous sanction of the Governor-General. Among these subjects are the coinage and currency of the Federation and the powers and duties of the Federal Reserve Bank in relation to the management of currency and exchange. It is well known that these matters have given rise to much suspicion and recrimination in the past and that it is peculiarly difficult for British authorities to act in this sphere without the imputation of being influenced by British more than by Indian interests. Is it wise that the Governor-General who can withhold assent from any measure at the final stage, should also have the power of prevention at the very beginning? And is it necessary that this requirement of previous consent should be permanent? If the intention of His Majesty's Government to enact this provision be inflexible, why should they not adopt a suggestion that has been frequently made and that has received influential support among British leaders to the effect that the Instrument of Instructions should contain a direction to the Governor-General to use these special powers only in the interests of India? It is highly desirable to avoid all suspicion of subordinating the financial interests of India to those of the United Kingdom.

It is proposed to create by the Constitution Act a statutory Railway Board and to preserve the rights of Indian Railway Companies to have access to the Secretary of State in regard to disputed points and, if they desire, to proceed to arbitration. It is not quite clear why, if the Reserve Bank can be constituted by Indian legislation, the Railway Board should not be similarly constituted. It is equitable that the existing rights of companies should be maintained. Freedom from political influences and vexatious interference by politicians is as desirable for the Reserve Bank as for the Railway Board. These can be secured in both cases through Indian legislation. In both cases the ultimate control should vest in the Government of India, who are hereafter to be the real custodians of the interests of the country.

DEFENCE

It is necessary at this point to cast a glance at the other reservations and safeguards, so that we may form a more or less accurate idea of

their aggregate. To the bigger items the representatives of India at the Round Table Conference have in the main, consented. Defence naturally takes first place under this head, not merely on account of the huge sums that it involves, but on account of its vital importance to national self-respect and to the Dominionhood, which sums up the aspirations of India. The Instrument of Instructions will direct the Governor-General to frame the military budget in consultation with his Ministers as well as with the Counsellors responsible to him. We pleaded more than once at the Round Table Conference for such branches of the Defence subject as Indianisation and the development of a citizen army to be actually transferred to the control of the legislatures. Before the Joint Select Committee these pledgings will be repeated without a doubt. Without prejudice the suggestion may be made that, in case a division of responsibility for the subject of defence be ruled out, the Instrument of Instructions should contain a direction that the Governor-General should take counsel with his Ministers on these branches as well as on expenditure. When it is remembered that this Instrument is to be invested with unusual importance in the new regime by being made both parliamentary and statutory, it will be realised that such a direction to the Governor-General will be a valuable safeguard in the interests of India. From our standpoint perhaps the greatest danger is the failure to provide for the termination of the reservation of defence, that is, to indicate the time, when the army will be completely Indianised and turned over to our control. The people of India, no less than their leaders have to watch this subject with the utmost vigilance possible. Let them be warned that the complete Indianisation of the army and its eventual transfer have not yet become part of the accepted policy of the British Government. We cannot rest till this consummation has been reached. The only statement in the White Paper upon the point is to the effect that "The Instrument of Instructions will also formally recognise the fact that the defence of India must, to an increasing extent, be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone." In the face of this unsatisfactory pronouncement, only a child can rest with confidence in the phrase "during a period of transition" occurring in the enunciation of policy with which the White Paper opens—an enunciation, by the way, which carefully omits the words "Dominion Status" which are our inspiration and our hope.

The advent of the Princes into the Federation scheme involves material deductions from Dominionhood, which go far to neutralise the advantages of Indian consolidation. In the first place they demand the protection of the Crown in case of trouble from their subjects, as though there were forces at the command of the Viceroy as distinguished from the Governor-General. The fantastic nature of this supposition will be apparent the moment one remembers that Defence is a federal subject, though at present reserved to the Governor-General. Some States seem to have asked even for the retention of British troops for the purpose. Apart from the military aspect the partial character of Indian Federation takes for granted the continuance of their dependence on the Crown for all non-Federal matters, so that their allegiance will be divided between the Viceroy and the Government of India. Constitutionally therefore there will be hereafter two parallel sources of authority in India, both deriving from the Crown, but in different capacities. This cannot conduce to smooth working. Though we hope for much from the political ingenuity of the next generation, it is difficult to envisage the complexion of the future Dominion of India, unless the scope of Federation is extended throughout and the Princes look to it for protection, for the settlement of succession dis-

putes and other such purposes. By itself this hindrance in the march of our country to Dominion Status is a tremendous price to pay. One could only wish that the Federation we get in return will have substance enough to justify it. The process of weakening the Government of India may be said to begin with the separation of the capacities of Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council. Hitherto by virtue of Section 33 of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General-in-Council has been master of all India, including the Indian States. The States portfolio is in the hands of the Governor-General as a member of his own cabinet, and though the rule has been for his colleagues not to interfere in his administration, cases have occurred in which they have taken a share in the decision.

VICEROY'S SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Apart from erecting the Viceroy into a separate entity with powers and functions abstracted from the head of the Government of India, the Governor-General will in future be exalted at the expense of his cabinet. He will control the reserved subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical. He will have power to gather up in his own hands all governmental functions and responsibilities when there is a breakdown of the machinery. Besides, he has various special responsibilities which impinge on the transferred sphere, thus giving rise to occasions when he may direct his cabinet to do certain things and, in case of their non-compliance, do them himself. This setting aside of the Ministry is open to him in all three departments—those of legislation, administration and finance. The items in respect of which he can take this threefold action in supersession of his colleagues make a formidable category. Here are the heads in compendious form:

The prevention of grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof; the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation; the safeguarding of minorities; the safeguarding of the Services; the protection of the rights of States; the prevention of commercial discrimination; any matter in the Transferred sphere which affects the Reserved departments.

To allay the fears caused by this long list, it is stated that the Governor-General and the eleven Governors who will have corresponding powers will all be men of common sense and goodwill and a conciliatory disposition. We are assured that in actual fact they will not be found constantly interfering with the administration of the Transferred departments by the Ministers. This may or may not be so. But it is certain that the Ministers in charge can never feel at ease so long as they know that they are being narrowly watched by the heads of Defence and External Affairs, by the Financial Adviser, by the leaders of the minority groups, by the senior officials serving under them, by scores of Princes, by the representatives of British commerce, and that some of these may at any moment invoke the exercise of the Governor-General's special responsibilities. The fear of interference will oppress the Ministers and hinder the growth of a sense of responsibility.

The White Paper proceeds on the assumption that the time is come for entrusting large powers to the elected representatives of the people and creates large constituencies for the purpose. One would expect that the existence of these trusted legislative bodies will obviate the necessity of other machinery for the purpose of legislation. It is strange, however, that the power of making laws is to be exercised in future by more agencies than before. The Governor-General and the Governors are to enjoy the power of certification as hitherto, only the resulting laws will

be distinguished on the Statute Book by being designated Governor-General's Acts and Governor's Acts. The power of making Ordinances for six months is continued. To obviate legal doubts that have arisen, it is to be expressly enacted that an Ordinance is renewable for a second period of six months. This power could hitherto be exercised only by the Governor-General. Hereafter it is exercisable by Governors as well. A wholly new development is the extension of the Ordinance-making power to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments in their collective capacity, but under stringent restrictions. One of these restrictions is that the Ordinances may be repealed at any time by the Governor-General or the Governors. The very brief and precarious life which such Ordinances can enjoy makes it more than doubtful whether they would be really required. The sum of these safeguards and restrictions is so large that the scope of responsible government is unduly narrowed, the machinery of government becomes cumbersome and the people feel that they are not fully trusted. This is the more difficult to understand because the Federal Legislatures are composed, as the London "Times" has admitted in large measure, of representatives of minorities and representatives of the States, all having a weightage and the latter being in addition nominated by the Princes.

Bombay Labour Leaders

"After the closest scrutiny of these proposals and with every desire to judge them fairly, the only possible conclusion to which we are driven, is that they are sadly inadequate" declared prominent Labour leaders of Bombay, including Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in a statement on the White Paper dated 27th March. They assert that they have no objection to the establishment of an All-India Federation provided it is founded on perfect equality for all its constituents. But they feel that in the future Government, Labour has not any voice as their representation is extremely inadequate as against landlords, commercial interests, and Indian States. In the Upper House, whereas capitalists and other special interests are given representation, Labour is denied even the insignificant representation which it gets in the Lower House.

The statement adds: "While Labour legislation is made concurrent in the Federal and provincial legislatures enforcement of such legislation, so far as Indian States are concerned, is made dependent on the discretion of the Indian Princes, so that while the Princes will have a share in enacting Labour legislation for British India it will only be optional for them to accept that legislation for their own territory. The working class in the States, therefore, will be at the mercy of the Princes. The position is unacceptable to Indian Labour."

Mr. M. R. Jayakar

It seems to me that almost all the undesirable features and results of the last Round Table Conference are repeated in the White Paper, and that none of the suggestions which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and myself made to the Secretary of State, with the exception of a couple of ones, find a place in the document" said Mr. M. R. Jayakar in an interview with the Associated Press dated 19th March.

"On some points for instance," Mr. Jayakar added "like the status and rights of Public Services in the future Federation and a statutory Railway Board, there is a clear departure from the bulk of opinion expressed at the Round Table Conference. From what I have been able to gather about the coming in of Federation, it seems to be more distant than ever. All this

makes it most imperative that Indian opinion should strongly and clearly express itself on the detailed proposals, and on the directions in which the scheme will have to be improved before it can secure the satisfaction of progressive opinion in India, care being however taken to see that the criticism takes a form which will strengthen the hands of those who would be in charge of the Indian case during the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It would be wise to avoid a form of criticism which is likely to prove a useful weapon in the hands of the enemies of Indian reform."

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani

In a statement to the press dated March 20, Mr. Chintamani, President of the Liberal Federation says:

"It is my considered opinion that the scheme of Reforms embodied in the White Paper cannot possibly satisfy Indian Nationalists. They have been agitating for responsible Self-Government with only the minimum of deductions necessary (on account of past British Policy) in India's own interest, for a short transitional period to be fixed by statute. This National demand is not met by the Government. The scheme, is an elaborate essay in withholding power while seeming to concede it. In India, it may please zealots whose first thought is not the country, while it must gratify the Tories in England. But genuine reformers can have little use for the White Paper scheme which may only put off the day of real reform."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

Sir Tej Bahadur severely criticised the provisions relating to the Public Services especially the future recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the Police being placed in the hands of the Secretary of State. He said: "I have no hesitation in characterising these provisions as the ugliest and most reactionary, and most indefensible feature of the whole constitution. The question to my mind is not so much British recruitment or Indian recruitment, as the recruiting authority of the future. Why should not the Governor-General of the future in consultation with his Ministers, regulate recruitment to these services? It practically comes to this that, until the last man in the Indian Civil Service holding an appointment on the date of the passing of the Constitution, has retired, the Indian Government cannot have any real control over the Services.

As regards the proposals that the Secretary of State should be empowered to make rules regulating the number and character of certain civil posts, Sir Tej Bahadur said: "It will be perpetuating monopoly of the worst possible kind, blocking the way to possible economies in the cost of administration, and wholly inconsistent with all pretensions of autonomy in the provinces or responsibilitity at the Centre. All such proposals must be unreservedly rejected by Indian opinion.

While maintaining that salaries, emoluments and the position of the existing members of the Services should be scrupulously safeguarded, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru strongly differed from several recommendations which, if given effect to, would amount to a very serious subtraction from responsibility both at the Centre and the provinces, and instead of being conducive to harmonious relations between the services, the Ministers, and the Legislature, would be causing constant friction.

Sir T. B. Sapru pointed out that the Federal legislature is not a full-fledged sovereign legislature like that of the Self-Governing Dominions. There are important and serious subtractions from its powers, some of which seem to invariably follow from the basic principle of the constitution of a

Responsible Government based on safeguards and others seem susceptible of improvement.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in a statement to the Associated Press, dated March 21 said:—

"The White Paper is dark. Whether in elucidating the dubious conclusions of the Third Round Table Conference, or in its after-thoughts and additions, the White Paper is distinctly reactionary. Reservations and safeguards between them, eat up the small shadowy Responsible Government that is offered to India. There is, indeed, no responsibility to speak of either in name or reality at the Centre.

Pundit Kunzru

In the course of a statement to the Press dated March 21, Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru said:—

"The White Paper has amply justified our pessimistic forebodings, and our want of faith in the sincerity of British statesmen. The restrictions proposed in the interests of Britain, reducing self-government to a shadow have been maintained, or added to, with the consequence that the completed picture is blacker than the outline. Progressive Indian opinion at the R. T. C. has been completely ignored and not one of the important demands put forward in the Sapru-Jayakar memorandum has been conceded. The inauguration of Federation has been made still more difficult. The Viceroy has been granted enormous power to overrule the Ministry and the Legislature, and to make Responsible Government a dream. Self-defence is the life breath of Self-Government. Yet the White Paper is absolutely silent on the subject. The policy followed with regard to recruitment of the Indian Civil and Police Services is equally imperialistic. The proposals made by His Majesty's Government disclose not a maximum of agreement but a maximum of disagreement. The entire constitution is based on utter distrust of Indians, and inspired by a determination to part with as little power as possible. Such a scheme cannot allay discontent in India and unless the proposals now made are radically altered, it will be vain to hope for a reconciliation between India and England."

Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee

Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee remarked that in spite of obvious drawbacks, the scheme presented by the British Parliament was one with which he was "fairly content." Assessing the credit side, first, Mr. Bannerjee divided them into three sections, namely, (1) That there was a definite measure of responsibility in the Centre; (2) that the transfer of power to the provinces was real and substantial; and (3) that, so far as Bengal was concerned, financial arrangements were special and fairly satisfactory. On the third point, Mr. Bannerjee grew a bit warm and said: "We get more than three crores; that should help us a good deal."

Mr. J. N. Basu

Mr. J. N. Basu, interviewed on March 19, said:—

"The scheme cannot be said to be gesture of goodwill, and it is so much interwoven with suspicion and hesitation that it will not have the pacifying effect that might have been expected of it. A part from the authority that must attach to the head of the State there is so much power still reserved in vital matters to the British Parliament, to the British Governor-General and the Governors under the control of Parliament, that it will be difficult for the people to feel that there has been a change in their status. There is hardly any section of Indian political opinion which has not asked for Domi-

nion Self-Government. The differentiation in treatment which the White Paper indicates cannot but hurt Indian sentiment; distrust and discontent are not likely to disappear. They will grow, if the new system is worked in the same way as the Montagu system has been worked for the last twelve years. During that period the area of discontent has spread wider. On the eve of the inauguration of the new Reforms, the policy that has been pursued has been one tending to create an atmosphere antagonistic to the willing acceptance of what is coming.

"There is another feature of the new scheme which shows that the momentum of progress is lacking in it. While retrograde elements like the dividing up of legislatures according to differences in religion, caste and race have been fully emphasised, provisions about the general advance of the people's rights and liberties have not been given much prominence. After the generous gesture of the British Government given expression to by Lord Irwin, when convoking the First Round Table Conference, the specific proposals that have now emerged and that are likely to shape the new Constitution indicate that while there is an ostensible show of progress, the impetus that will make things move towards a better and higher life for the people is lacking. Differences amongst people, which exist in all countries, have been magnified, here to an extent which generations not in the very distant future will probably laugh at. Instead of providing for component elements in the legislative bodies being so marshalled that they can work together, the experience of the past has been ignored and the cleavages have been so continued as to create a tendency in the elements to fly asunder. It is doubtful if the new constitution, as foreshadowed in the White Paper will bring about peace and contentment in the country."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq (Round Table Conference delegate), M. L. C., said that the decision of His Majesty's Government to foist on the Bengal Legislature an Upper Chamber is a flagrant instance of the manner in which the public opinion of Bengal is being flouted by authorities both in India and in England. Only, the other day, the Bengal Legislative Council condemned the introduction of a second Chamber in the Province in no uncertain terms, and it is curious that even this recent indication of popular opinion has been ignored by His Majesty's Government. Apart from this, it is also disappointing that Bengal is not going to get the full amount of the duty on jute to which she is entitled both legally, morally and from political considerations.

Raja Narendranath

Raja Narendranath, Punjab leader, in a statement dated March 19 on the White Paper, states: The proffered constitution is not likely to satisfy anyone. The head of the Executive being made the custodian of minority rights is not a satisfactory arrangement. Minorities who are *persona grata* with the authorities, may have some internal consolation, but even the head of the Executive himself would be placed in difficulties, due to complaints of a divergent nature from the majority and minority communities respectively.

Mr. B. Das

Mr. B. Das said on March 18: "It is a most distressing announcement. The White Paper has given diminutive boundaries for the Orissa Province and takes away thirty-three per cent in area and population more than the O'Donnel findings. It will rouse deep resentment and bitterness in Orissa unless reconciled and rectified by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Sir Samuel Hoare at the Orissa Dinner felt gratified to have satisfied ten million

Oriya people, but he has reduced the number to sixty-seven lakhs and has created an Alsace Lorraine in excluding Parlakimedi. An Alsace Lorraine has also been created in every frontier and Oriyas have been doomed to slavery in the north and south under Biharees, Bengalees and Telugus. This intolerable situation must be righted, else the constitution would be unworkable in Orissa.

"The most reactionary and damaging proposals in the White Paper are the taxation powers, Upper House, recruitment for All-India Services for another ten years at least, non-voted Financial Commissioner, Parliamentary statute for the Railway Board and excess weightage in the Federal Assembly to Bombay, Punjab and Sind at the cost of other Provinces, particularly Orissa. The Railway Board like the Reserve Bank must be created under a statute of the Indian Legislature. It looks as though the Princes will not enter the picture of Federation. They are bargaining and bargaining to get more privileges. Some of them would very much like to remain in perpetual and barbarous isolation. So, why not a Federation of British Indian autonomous provinces, leaving the Princes alone ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi

Mr. N. M. Joshi, in a statement dated March 18 to the Associated Press, said:—

The whole scheme of the White Paper, as that of the Round Table Conference, is based upon distrust of the Indian people, especially the masses. Safeguards which were "in the interests of India," have now been declared a necessity "in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom," and they have been even more meticulously defined and strengthened. European public services will continue to be imposed upon India, even against the wishes of the Ministers, to whom they will owe no allegiance. For the sake of the Services even the Round Table Conference report has been given a go-by. The interests of a few thousand Europeans are placed much higher than the interests of the millions of Indians. Next to these most favoured classes, come in for preference the propertied classes and communities based upon religion.

Fundamental rights are promised in the interests of both but the poor helpless masses are not thought of in that connection. Care is taken to provide representation for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Christians in the Federal Upper Chamber, but Labour is to be denied that privilege. Although the subject was not discussed at the Round Table Conference, backward and hill tribes would be governed autocratically in the name of protection, and would even continue to be subjected to practices which are not very far from forced labour. They are not to have representation even in the Federal Lower Chamber. Not only has no provision been made for common Labour legislation for the whole of India, but on subjects like health insurance and old age pensions, there is not to be common legislation even for British India. Unemployment insurance is not even mentioned.

Sir M. Iqbal

Expressing his views on the White Paper, Sir Mahomed Iqbal said on March 18 that it was unlikely to satisfy either the country or the Muslim community. The White Paper demanded the serious consideration of the Muslims. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, meeting on the 25th and 26th March, should give the right lead to the community. 'Regarding safeguards, he thought that Provincial Autonomy would be crippled by the special powers reserved for the Governors, but everything

depended on the wisdom of the Ministers in not creating situations calling for the exercise of such powers by the Governor.

Regarding the position of Muslims, Sir Mahomed Iqbal said that Muslims got only 82 seats in the Lower Federal House out of a total of 375, which was less than one-fourth leaving out of account Muslims from the States, who could not be regarded as representatives of the Indian Muslim community. As an important minority community, Muslims ought to have got weightage, and not the States. In his opinion, the present arrangement would amount to packing the legislature with practically nominated members at the expense of the Muslim minority. Nine seats had been allotted for women, as a separate interest. Muslim women should have been considered part of the Muslim community, and their share should either have been added to Muslim seats or reserved within the seats allotted to women. Sir Mahomed Iqbal also regretted that the question of Baluchistan had not been satisfactorily settled.

Dr. B. S. Moonje

Dr. Moonje, in the course of an interview, dated March 18, stated that the White Paper proposals would result in maintaining a Crown Colony type of Government. The Governor-General and the Governors would be mere agents of the Crown and would not represent the sovereignty of the people, which was the soul of democracy and of Dominion Status. India was as far off from Dominion Status as before the Round Table Conference. In the provinces, Ministers would comprise merely an Advisory Council to the Governors, whose word would prevail whether supported or not supported by the Ministers and the Legislatures. To call such a constitution provincial autonomy, was nothing less than a misnomer.

As for the Federation, none could say when it would be established, because it depended upon the Princes' will to federate, which they might or might not do, and secondly on world economic conditions, making the establishment of a Reserve Bank possible. The leaders should not have agreed to let Central Responsibility depend upon an All-India Federation. A magic show of Central Responsibility and Provincial autonomy was made, but the substance was swallowed outright by the "special responsibilities" of the Governor-General and the Governors. To empower the Governor-General to enact measures called Governor-General's Acts without reference to the legislatures and similar powers to the Provincial Governors, was positively retrograde.

Dr. Moonje had no hesitation in saying that the constitution would not satisfy the people and allay discontent. He suggested the bringing about political unity in the country on a wider scale to make an impression upon the Government and to compel them to reconsider their proposals.

Mr. R. W. Fulay

Mr. R. W. Fulay, Labour Member of the Central Provinces Council, said on March 18 that despite the very wide powers conferred on the Governor, the White Paper guarantees autonomy for the provinces. The constitution of a second Federal Chamber and a second Chamber in three provinces could have been avoided. In view of the coming constitution, an effective party organisation for capturing the legislatures is very necessary. The Congress must consider the evil effects of boycotting legislatures. The White Paper is on the whole, a fair advance towards Dominion Status.

Mr. N. M. Muzumdar

Mr. N. M. Muzumdar, a prominent member of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, stated on March 18 that the White Paper was a very disappointing

document. The "special responsibilities" of the Governor-General would seriously reduce the responsibility of the Ministers. The Governor-General's powers to add items to the Budget in exercise of his special responsibilities would seriously curtail the Finance Minister's power.

Sir Abdul Qayum

"I do not find the White Paper altogether unpalatable, so far as the Frontier has been granted equal constitutional status with the rest of India, but I hope the special responsibilities of the Governor for the trans-border tract would not be made an excuse for undue interference with the internal administration, but would be interpreted more generously," said Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum, interviewed on the White Paper, by the Associated Press.

Mrs. Subbaroyan

The following views were made public by Mrs. Subbaroyan:—

"The Government propose to substitute for the bare literacy qualification that the Lothian Committee recommended for women, the passing of an examination in all provinces except Madras and in some provinces the standard prescribed is very high, like the Matriculation or its equivalent examination. For the Federal Assembly too, the Government recommend for women this high educational qualifications of passing the Matriculation Examination, in preference to the qualification of literacy recommended by the Lothian Committee. I would point out that such a high qualification will enfranchise only a very few women for the simple reason that owing to our social customs the majority of our few educated women have not been to schools and passed examinations. It is well known that in India, even now, there is a great disparity in the number of boys and girls that attend schools and this disparity increases as we go up the educational ladder. The Hartog Committee Report states that in 1927 the number of boys in High Schools was 34 times as great as that of girls in corresponding schools. We must remember that this disparity was greater still when adults of to-day were boys and girls. The Lothian Committee appreciated this difficulty and recommended bare literacy as the educational qualification for women, for both the Provincial and the Federal Assemblies. The discrepancy in voting power between men and women under the White Paper proposals, will, because of this difference in the progress of education among them, be greater than the Government estimate"

Mr. V. J. Patel

"The White Paper signifies Home Rule for the Viceroy, and not the Indian people," declared Mr. V. J. Patel, in an interview dated March 27 with Reuter in London. "It gives more power to the Viceroy than the existing constitution in many respects. It will bring nothing but friction between the Ministers and the Governor-General and between the different services and the Ministers, leading to all sorts of deadlock. Anyone thinking of reasonable hopes of modification in the Select Committee is living in a fool's paradise." He added that the Labourites' amendment was "milk and water" and that they should keep out if they wanted to support Indian nationalism.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad

Sir Chimanlal was keenly disappointed with the proposals contained in the White Paper, and expressed the opinion that there was nowhere in that document any hope of Self-Government in the real and proper sense. He was doubtful about the establishment of a Federation in the near future. The immediate result that would materialise from the proposals in the White

Paper might only be Provincial Autonomy, and that, too, of a restricted character. "The White Paper," said Sir Chimanlal, "reproduces in an amplified form the proposals appearing in the report of the proceedings of the Third Round Table Conference. "The objectionable features regarding the Reserved and Special powers of the Governor-General and the Governors, Financial safeguards, Defence and such other matters, are still all there. In addition, the White Paper says that the control of services and recruitment to the All-India services will remain with the Secretary of State for 5 years, at the end of which an enquiry will be set up as to the future course.

"This is quite contrary to recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, which recommended that all recruitment and commissions for services must rest with the Government of India under the new constitution. "The White Paper goes still further in this matter and says that the control of the services shall, as heretofore, rest with the Secretary of State. This means that the Ministers will not have complete control of the services who would be entitled to approach the Secretary of State as the appellant authority. The Secretary of State will have power to make rules in this behalf and there is every reason to apprehend that any censure or even postings and transfers of Service men by Ministers will require the concurrence of the Governor or the Governor-General as the case may be. Ministers thus not having full control over the agency and the instruments for carrying out and making effective their policy, self-Government in the real and proper sense will not be there. Moreover the conditions precedent, as laid down in the White Paper, for establishing Federation may in all probability be not fulfilled for a long time to come—with the result that, all that will materialise at present may be only provincial autonomy and that too of a restricted character with all the special and reserved powers of the Governor and the Governor-General. Unless the proposals adumbrated in the White Paper undergo a substantial modification at the hands of the joint select committee—which to my mind is a forlorn hope—the new constitution will not satisfy even the moderate elements in the country."

Mr. M. C. Chagla

Mr. M. C. Chagla, a leading member of the Nationalist Muslim Party, issued the following statement, dated March 21 to the Press:—

"I see no difference between the Blue Book which embodied the results of the Third Round Table Conference, and the White Paper which contains His Majesty's Government's decision, except the colour. Round Table optimists who wanted the country not to be impatient and to await the results of the White Paper are, I hope, by now thoroughly disillusioned. The White Paper is a most reactionary document and is very far from leading India to the goal of Dominion Status. It is definitely retrograde in many respects. I entirely agree with what Lord Irwin said at Leeds that, as far as Central Government was concerned, the executive authority in the Governor-General remained unimpaired. Not only will defence, external and ecclesiastical affairs be entrusted to the Governor-General personally, but even as regards finance, the Governor-General will have powers which will make transfer of finance a mockery and a farce.

"As regards the Provinces, there is not a vestige of Provincial Autonomy. The Governor will be a greater autocrat under the future constitution than he is to-day. Provincial administration of the future will be nothing better than autocracy whitened over with a plaster of democracy. The Blue Book was silent with regard to Services, but the White Paper makes it clear that India is to continue to be a subject country with all the import-

ant powers concentrated in the minds of our present governors. Recruitment to Indian Civil Service is to remain with the Secretary of State and present ratio of British to Indian recruitment will remain unaltered. The setting up of a statutory Railway Board also clearly shows what little transfer of power there is going to be from our present rulers to the people of India. In crucial matters like defence, finance, commerce and industry the White Paper announces that the power will be maintained in the hands of the present Government and that power will be further strengthened and made definitely secure by statutory provisions.

"As I have said before, the new constitution is a political imposture. The only answer that India or at least the self-respecting part of it can give is to refuse to co-operate with the British Government in the further stages of constitution making, unless and until the principles underlying the White Paper are materially and radically altered."

Sir N. Sircar

In a letter to the "Times" Sir N. Sircar wrote:—

Sir,—Your recent editorials, on the necessity of "Unity," require the most anxious consideration—though it will be a matter for very agreeable surprise, if you do not find, that you are crying in the wilderness.

The papers are full of opinions, describing the proposals in the White Paper as "Sham" "Reactionary" "Unsatisfactory" and as based on "Mistrust and Suspicion."

I do not intend to criticise any of these opinions and I entirely agree that the proposals are based on "Mistrust and Suspicion." What I do not agree to, however, is the implication, that such "Mistrust and Suspicion" is confined to His Majesty's Government—as the fact is that if the proposals are "Unsatisfactory," one of the main causes is the deep mutual mistrust of different Indian communities for one another. Maulana Shaukat Ali of all persons, complains of too "many safeguards"—but did not his community insist on every one of them?

Sirdar Ujjal Singh is "disillusioned" and complains of the Communal Award--but was not communalism at its worst, displayed by Sardar Ujjal Singh, whose complaint had been that the Sikhs having obtained weightage, ought to get still more? He made it perfectly clear that rather than trust the Muslims, he would go back to the days of Lieutenant-Governors. On this foundation why is there surprise if the superstructure is nothing like "Dominion Status"?

I do not insinuate that only Muslims and Sikhs have been insistent on safeguards and special powers. The extraordinary powers of the Governor-General, for example in connection with minorities, which will enable him to over-ride the Legislature, have been demanded by practically every community. Even after the publication of the "White Paper," Sikhs and Punjab Hindus are actually complaining that the power given to the Governor-General is not sufficiently wide. Will Sikhs, Moslems, Depressed Classes and Hindus in some Provinces, have the reforms if there is no such power? But for the fact that it would make this letter too long, it is easy to show that these safeguards or at least most of them, in their general principles, were almost unanimously agreed to including Mahatma Gandhi who took such an active part as member of the Federal Structure Committee. He agreed to Army being reserved, because he said that the Sikhs and other fighting races will not trust him. He agreed not only to financial safeguards in principle—but added that these safeguards should not

be in the interests of India, but also in the interests of Great Britain. He agreed to safeguards and other unsatisfactory features, because he was compelled to treat this "mutual distrust and suspicion" of the communities as an existing fact. When asked to form a concrete scheme he could not ignore it. He repeatedly stressed the point, that it is no good talking of Self-Government, if we cannot get rid of this mutual suspicion—and in the bitterness of heart added, that if this distrust is not removed, we shall always want the English to be here for preventing us from cutting one another's throats.

Even after the publication of the White Paper—the Sikhs and Punjab Hindus are declaring that the power given to the Governor-General is not sufficiently wide! They want to be protected from the Muslims. Why do they now complain that what is proposed is not real Self-Government? How is Self-Government consistent with this attitude?

If special electorates will keep the communities in separate compart ments, and only acccentuate communal differences as they are likely to do—is it not the fact that the bulk of Muslim opinion declared emphatically that they will have nothing to do with any Reforms, unless they provide for special electorates? If this is incompatible with real Self-Government, who is responsible?

The Depressed Classes with their thorough distrust of caste Hindus, insisted on special treatment. If this is 'unsatisfactory' what is its origin?

During the discussion of "Fundamental Rights," it was shamelessly stated, that some of them were wanted for protection of a special section from others. It has been said in many of the opinions that the proposals fall far short of "expectations." What can be expected if at every stage we distrust one another, and we require an impartial third party, the Governor-General to save us from one another? We want Self-Government for India as a whole but each component part wants an outside agency, to protect it from others. We are reaping what we sowed—and it is no good being surprised at the only possible result of our conduct.

It has been sometimes said that this result has been due to the fact, that the delegates to the Round Table Conference were not suitable men—but a set of 'ap-ka-wastes.' This may be true—but some facts militating at least partly against this view may be stated.

When Mahatma Gandhi tried to settle the communal dispute at the Second Round Table Conference and circulated the Congress proposals—he could not even get men like Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje to make a united stand with him. The Hindus were so hopelessly divided that during many of the informal Conferences under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi, notices were not given to the delegates from Bengal.

Again, whatever may be said of the Hindu delegates, there is not much doubt that Muslims, Sikhs, and Depressed Classes delegates, were representing the views of the majorities of these communities—though no doubt in these communities there are men who can rise over paltry communal jealousies, and take a broad nationalistic point of view, not merely in name, but in fact. Alas, they are so few!

I for one deprecate the exaggeration of this mutual 'suspicion and distrust'—and my hope is that with passing of times, this poison may be minimised if not eliminated.

At the present moment it serves no useful purpose in pointing out that the proposals are "sham"—if they are really so—when we are the main contributories to the result. There is not the slightest hope of removing any

of the "unsatisfactory" features of the White Paper, unless we can have that "unity" for which you are advocating in your columns.

Condemnation of a "sham" is certainly justified—but it is an ostrich—like policy to ignore the fact that our "unity" at present is a "sham"—and one "sham" leads to another. The idea of this letter is not to abuse ourselves, and stress on our misdeeds, but to point out the obvious fact, that this so-called "sham" cannot be got rid of unless there is "change of heart," so far as we are concerned, and until we succeed in putting our house in order. Shall we succeed in doing so? We may not but let us make an honest effort. If we are bound to fail let us not complain of "shams."

If we are prepared to make the very best use of the advance that is proposed, and get rid of our "mistrust and suspicion" as we ought to—it will be time enough then to think of "Dominion Status" or complete Self-Government.

PUBLIC BODIES

National Liberal Federation

The following resolutions were passed on March 11th by the Council of the National Liberal Federation regarding the results of the Third Round Table Conference:

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that results of the Third Round Table Conference as embodied in the official report are unsatisfactory in view 'inter alia' of the following features of the proposed scheme:

(1) Absence of any indication as to the date when the All-India Federation will be inaugurated;

(2) imposition of a new condition precedent that the Reserve Bank must be established and must function effectively prior to the Federal Constitution begins to operate, and the lack of assurance as to what would be done in case this condition is not fulfilled at an early date;

(3) absence of a clear elucidation that the policy about currency exchange shall rest with the legislature;

DEFENCE AND INDIANISATION

(4) proposals regarding defence which do not confer adequate powers to the future Indian Legislature to quicken the pace of Indianisation of the Indian Army reducing the strength of the British garrison in the country to control the policy regarding military training of nationals, to throw open all ranks of Indian defence forces to all classes including the so-called non-martial races with a view to achieving complete nationalisation of the Army within a reasonable period and to bring about substantial reduction in the huge unbearable military expenditure of the country;

(5) absence of any decision regarding Federal Finance, constitution of the Federal Legislature and other conditions on which the States would join the Federation;

EXCESSIVE SAFEGUARDS

(6) the fact that the safeguards devised are excessive and unreasonable and not demonstrably in the interests of India and that it is not provided that they shall terminate in a short transitional period fixed by the Statute;

(7) the proposed financial safeguards which constitute virtual negation of the financial power to the Federal Government and legislature;

(8) the proposed statutory provision against commercial discrimination which is calculated to deprive the future legislature and executive of

the necessary power to afford protection to Indian Trades and Industries against unfair competition by non-nationals;

(9) reactionary and far-reaching proposals regarding special responsibilities of the Viceroy conferring on him unnecessary and wide powers, financial, legislative and administrative regarding the transfer of power in the Centre almost negatory;

(10) absence of a provision vesting recruitment and conditions of employments of future entrants to public services and complete control of public servants, present and future, in the Central and Provincial Governments subject to safeguarding salaries and pensions those in the service at the date of coming into operation of the new constitution;

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

(11) vitiation of the even proposed provincial autonomy by proposals regarding special powers of Governors analogous to those of the Viceroy with power of interference in administration of law and order in the provinces and to establish in some provinces second Chambers apart from the unsatisfactory constitution proposed for the provincial Legislative Councils, which will render very difficult the formation of non-communal parties based upon differences of policy;

(12) absence of any proposal for abolition of the Indian Council and a separate office for the Secretary of State and his functions being made over to the Secretary of State for Dominions affairs and for effective limitation of powers of the Secretary of State and

(13) lack of provision regarding the fundamental rights and power to the future legislatures to make needed changes in the constitution without sanction of the British Parliament.

In effect the scheme appears to be a perpetuation of the present regime. All the restrictions imposed by the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme re-appear in the new constitution, perhaps in a tighter form. The vast powers conferred upon the Governor-General and the Governors under the heads of reserved departments, the special responsibilities, special powers delegated by the Crown not inconsistent with the Act, discretionary powers, emergency powers, powers of interference in the transferred (now called 'non-reserved') departments under the elastic formula of "necessary for the fulfilment of any of the special responsibilities" and the powers of issuing ordinances, dictating legislation by message, providing for appropriations without the consent of the legislatures and against their votes, amount virtually to an autocracy not mitigated, but strenghened, by the unchecked control of Whitehall.

The provisions envisage the possibility of a divergence of conflict of interests between Britain and India, and the autocratic powers conferred upon the Viceroy and the Secrtary of State furnish a temptation to exercise the powers in a manner favourable to the interests of Britain rather than of India. Need it cause any surprise, if legislation prompted by such distrust creates deep distrust in the good faith of the British Government?

Of the many features of the scheme which seriously detract from its acceptability, we can only refer to the multitudinous and multifarious safeguards designed to keep the ministry and the legislatures under leading strings. The absence of any provision for giving any useful voice to the legislature in the matter of defence, the imposition of conditions for the establishment of federation, the absence of any limit to the period of waiting for the removal of the obstacles to federation, the requirement of an address from both Houses of Parliament to the inauguration of the federal Government, the absence of any indication of the termination of the period of transition and safeguards, either automatically or conditionally and as

to the time of attainment of Dominion Status or full responsible government, the absence of any power in the federal legislature to make any amendments even in the details of the constitution, the perpetuation of the India Council on a slightly altered basis, the refusal to transfer the control of the Services to the Government of India and the prospect of permanent subventions of deficit provinces are not calculated to relieve the gloom in the political atmosphere. Unless the scheme now published undergoes radical alteration in the direction of the removal of the numerous shackles on the freedom of the legislatures and the conferment of a generous measure of genuine responsibility on the federal legislature, there is no likelihood of allaying the political discontent in India. The choice before the British Government is to placate the Tories at home or win the cconfidence of the people of India.

Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber

Sir Manmohan Das Ramji, the new President of the Indian Merchants Chamber presiding at the annual general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber held on January 27th referring to the Round Table Conference discussions said:—"The discussion at the Round Table Conference have practically centred round the word "safeguards" and at every turn we meet with it either in the form of army safeguards or financial safeguards or commercial safeguards or what not. To us, businessmen, the so-called commercial safeguards have presented another knotty problem. I am afraid the last Round Table Conference has not effected any improvement in the position so far as commercial safeguards are concerned. It remains to be seen how the White Paper deals with the question. The best safeguards would be those based upon mutual esteem and mutual trust and confidence. All these cannot be secured by insisting upon safeguards but by working in co-operation with the Indian business community for the good of India. India is still the land of infant industries and it will be neither fair nor proper to place against them handicaps. Even British industries which are considered to be in such a strong position that they did not want any special treatment are not to get ample protection from Government. Why should such developed and protected industries want any safeguards in this country?

During all those years when British vested interests were given preferences, there was no talk of any safeguards for Indian interests, i.e., indigenous industries, yet when discussion is now going on with regard to the new constitution these same interests began to clamour for safeguards against Indian indigenous industries apprehending that when the Government would be Indian, Indian interests might get preferences, as they themselves got preferences with a Government predominantly British in character. It is very necessary that Indian industries should get adequate protection from the State and they will be heavily handicapped if the State was deprived of the right to afford them special protection."

Madras European Association

After a Special Committee Meeting of the Madras Branch of the European Association held on 19th March, to discuss the proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform contained in the White Paper published on 18th March, Mr. W. O. Wright, O.B.E., M.L.C., Chairman, Madras Branch, gave his views on the subject as follows:—

"We consider the proposals contained in the White Paper form a reasonable basis upon which the Constitution Act can be framed and that continual co-operation in assisting the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee will produce a workable scheme suitable to Indian conditions, very

largely in accordance with the Indian political aspirations. We realise that in some respects universal agreement is impossible of attainment, and this is also realised by those responsible for the White Paper. We feel however that with determined good-will on all sides many provisions which may be regarded by some schools of thought as objectionable will never in practice be brought into operation. The immensity of the problem is such as to make a detailed comment impossible at this stage, but the Central Council of the European Association will be shortly in possession of our considered views and will no doubt publish a statement in due course after consulting other branches throughout India."

Muslim Conference

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Muslim Conference was held on March 26th in Western Hostel, in New Delhi. A series of resolutions was passed before the meeting adjourned for lunch. The following is the text of the resolutions:

"This meeting of the Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference expresses its profound disappointment with the scheme of Reforms outlined in the White Paper. In the opinion of the Board, the said scheme fails to meet the demand of the Muslim community as embodied in the various resolutions of the All-India Muslim Conference. In view of the extreme dissatisfaction of the Muslim community with the proposals of His Majesty's Government, the Board demand radical changes on the following lines;

(a) The provinces should be granted the largest measure of fiscal, administrative and legislative autonomy;

(b) The Governor's powers are excessive and should be severely curtailed;

(c) Ministers should be fully responsible to the legislature, and should hold office only as long as they enjoy the confidence of the House;

(d) Provincial Governments should have effective control over the Imperial Services and complete control over the provincial and other services;

(e) The powers of the Governor-General should be curtailed;

(f) "High Courts" should be an exclusively provincial subject. The appointments of High Court Judges should be made by His Majesty on the recommendation of the Provincial Governors. The provincial Legislatures, and not the Federal Legislature should regulate the power of superintendence exercised by the High Court over subordinate courts in the province.

(g) No weightage or other privileges should be given to the States;

(h) Fundamental safeguards for the protection of the personal law, education and culture of the Muslims should be incorporated in the constitution;

(i) Provision should be made for effective representation of Muslims in the public services and the army, and immediate steps should be taken to Indianise the army;

(j) As Muslims claim one-third representation in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature and have been definitely promised one-third of the British Indian share of the seats and cannot see any effective way of securing a sufficient number of seats among the representatives of the States to make up their proportion to one-third of the whole House, it is their considered opinion that a slightly increased proportion over one-third of the British Indian share is essential. Muslims further disapprove of the principle of joint electorate in the elections to the Upper House of the Federal Legislature, and are for separate electorates with direct elections;

(k) A substantial measure of reform should be immediately introduced in Baluchistan;

(l) One seat allotted to Delhi in the Upper Chamber should go to Muslims and non-Muslims by rotation;

(m) The population of Delhi and Ajmer being equal, Ajmer should have the same measure of representation in both the Houses of the Federal Legislature as Delhi, such representation to be regulated by the same principle as in Delhi, and when represented by a Muslim the other should be represented by a non-Muslim in the Upper Chamber and vice versa;

(n) Inasmuch as His Majesty's Government's decision promised to give the Muslims of Bihar and Orissa 42 seats out of 175, i.e., 24 per cent of the whole House, by separate electorate, the proportion thus fixed should on no account be changed, and seats be so allotted to Muslims in the province in both the provincial legislatures that the total proportion of 24 per cent be undisturbed;

(o) The representation accorded to Commerce should include the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Bengal and Bihar as electoral units in their respective provinces;

(p) The electoral qualifications of the landholders' constituency should be reduced in Bengal, Bihar and single-seated constituencies be changed into multi-seated ones in each province by the single transferable vote.

Hindu Sabha Leaders

A joint Conference of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha and the Hindu members of the Central Legislature was held on March 26 to consider the White Paper. The following resolutions were passed:—

"This Conference is further of the opinion that time has come for bringing about political unity in the country on a broader basis, so as to enable the country to present a united front and evolve a common line of action, to meet the crisis that has arisen in consequence of the reactionary proposals in the White Paper.

"There is no advance in the constitutional status of India, and the whole conception of the constitution is based on the assumption that India is a conquered territory belonging to the Crown.

"India is to be administered not in the interest of India by the agents of the Crown. The Constitution does not even remotely or in any sense approximate to the Dominion Constitution, which the Government are pledged to grant by their Parliamentary declarations.

"Though it was agreed that the introduction of Central Responsibility leading to Dominion Status, should be accompanied during the period of transition by safeguards which should be demonstrably in the interests of India the period of transition is not fixed nor are the safeguards conceived in the interest of India.

"Central Responsibility is made dependent on the one hand ultimately on the will of the Princes, and on the other on world economic conditions making the establishment of a Reserve Bank possible, and on its successful working, and also more particularly on the will of the Houses of Parliament to present an address, if and when they so choose, to His Majesty, praying for his proclamation announcing the establishment of a Federation.

"Provision has been made for endowing the Governor-General with extraordinary powers, whereby the Governor-General can make Acts without the consent of or even a reference to the Legislature, and can appropriate funds on his own individual judgment and will.

"The authority of the Governor-General to appoint counsellors for the administration of the Reserved departments, Defence and Foreign Affairs, is not limited to the choice of his counsellors from amongst the elected members of the Legislature.

"The Federal Legislature has been denied the power of constituting a railway board by a statute of its own for the administration of Federal railways.

"The responsibility of the Finance Minister, already circumscribed as it is by making more than eighty per cent of the revenue non-votable, has been further seriously crippled by the appointment of a Financial Adviser to the Viceroy.

"No provision has been made for complete Indianisation of the Army within a reasonable period.

"Powers are still retained by the Secretary of State as regards recruitment to and control of Public Services like the Civil Service and the Police Service, which being the 'steel frame' of the constitution, are incapable of automatic adjustment, compatible with automatic constitutional growth.

"No provision has been made for automatic growth of India to a Dominion constitution, without a further reference to Parliament.

"Fundamental rights have not been defined, and no provision has been made for the inclusion of these rights in the Constitution Act. In view of the practically autocratic powers of the Governors, the omission will, it is feared, lead to differential treatment of minorities in the different provinces.

"The Communal Award, which form the basis of the structure of the constitution, is predominantly pro-Muslim and is highly unjust to Hindus. It is unacceptable to Hindus as it provides separate electorates, and undue weightage and representation in the Legislatures to Muslims at the cost of Hindus.

"Government reserve to themselves the right to withhold reforms under certain possible and undefined financial, economical and political conditions.

"The allocation of seats in the Lower House of the Central Legislature for the three provinces of Punjab, Bengal and Sind, where the Hindus are in a minority, is grossly unjust as compared with the seats assigned to Muslims in the provinces in which they (Muslims) are in a minority."

Maharastra Merchants

The Committee of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, issued the following statement on the White Paper:

The Committee of this Chamber have carefully considered the White Paper containing the proposals of his Majesty's Government on Indian constitutional reform, and they have to state it as their considered opinion that they do not find therein any real transfer of power from Whitehall to the people of this country. They believe that, although the proposed machinery of Government to be set up is that of a Federate State, there is little responsibility, if any, at the Centre and there is very little in the proposals to please any school of political thought, much less the nationalists.

The Federation, if and when it comes into being after the two conditions are fulfilled, will be hedged in with so many limitations. There seems, therefore, no definiteness as to when the Federation should be inaugurated and it should not exceed three years at the outset. Failing this, Federation of British Indian Units alone would be desirable.

Apart from the Reserved Departments which are to be administered by the Governor-General and which together will swallow up a very large percentage of the total federal revenues, the Governor-General is to have "special responsibilities" in respect of certain matters. These certainly do en-

croach upon the small ground left to his responsible ministers and virtually take away the life of the whole arrangement! The whole of this scheme seems to be conceived and developed in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust of the Indian people.

The Committee believe that the Governor-General's special responsibilities in respect of prevention of commercial discrimination is so wide and indefinite, that it will render the growth of any Indian-owned and Indian-managed industrial enterprise impossible.

The Committee believe that unless the ration has the clear right to discriminate, if need be, against non-national enterprise within the country, there is little scope for the growth of the nation's industries in face of the very unequal fight they may have to put up with foreigners, whose position is very strong on account of their capital resources, technical equipment and experience.

The Committee believe that non-Indian commercial interests are over-represented in the new legislatures, both Provincial and Federal, to the detriment of the legitimate rights of indigenous commerce and industry, which have much bigger and permanent stakes in the country.

The Committee are totally opposed to the principle of leaving the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police in the hands of the Secretary of State after the new constitution is inaugurated. They are not at all satisfied with the proposal for holding an inquiry into this question of recruitment after five years. They believe that no calamity is going to come if recruitment to these services become the sole concern of the Federal Government and Federal Legislature. They have nothing but condemnation pure and simple for this ugly feature of the constitution and they urge its removal straightway.

The proposed Federal machinery is, the Committee believe, almost unique amongst the federations of the world and although the conditions obtaining in India may to some extent be responsible for this, the unwillingness of the British people to part with any measure of real power is also largely responsible for evolving such an intricate and complex arrangement, which will not work without friction.

The Committee are agreeable to have a statutory Railway Board, but they have to state that the Board should be brought into being by the Indian legislature.

Lastly, the Committee have to state that Mahatma Gandhi and all other political prisoners should be released, to create the necessary atmosphere of peace and good-will for the inauguration of the new constitution and everything should be done to secure their co-operation.

Deccan Merchants

In the course of a statement on the White Paper, the Deccan Merchants' Association stated:

"There are several glaring deficiencies in our opinion, which require necessarily to be removed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, before the proposals are formulated in the form of a bill.

"Without going into an exhaustive examination of the detailed proposals, contained in the White Paper at this stage, we should like to emphasise at the outset a few important points, as suggestions for improvements, not inconsistent with the discussions carried on so far, and yet materially affecting the whole aspect of the coming reforms.

"India's name should be added in the Westminster statute.

Transition period should not exceed ten years.

"Complete Indianisation of the army should be attained within 30 years at the most.

"The Portfolio of Prime Minister of India, should be definitely inaugurated, and that the portfolios of defence and foreign affairs, although to be reserved for the transition period should be in the hands of Indians, selected by the Viceroy, in consultation with the Prime Minister.

The Federal Assembly, in addition to having the exclusive right of initiating money bills, should also have the final decision with it, irrespective of the vote of the Senate.

That several of the wide special powers, entrusted to the Governor-General, could be conveniently handed over, to the Federal Court, for instance, matters of communal safeguards, commercial discriminations and also matters pertaining to state rights. This matter should be further investigated into by the Joint Committee."

Karachi Corporation

"In the White Paper there is not a single line for the provincial local bodies. It deals with the powers of the Governors and the Governor-General but there is nothing which can be said to be for the happiness of the people."

Thus observed Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Mayor of Karachi, in moving a resolution for the immediate appointment of a committee to examine the relation between the Government and local bodies at the adjourned session (1933) of the Provincial Conference of Local Bodies (Bombay Presidency) held at the Corporation Hall this afternoon, Mr. Huseinally M. Rahimtoola presiding.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta:—

(a) This Conference requests Government to appoint without the least delay a Committee of officials and non-officials with a non-official majority including nominees of the local self-government institute to examine the relation between Government and local bodies and make recommendation with a view to make local bodies autonomous and financially strong. That the terms of the reference of the committee should entitle it to make free recommendations regarding the following, amongst other subjects.

(1) Financial Relations,
(2) Functional liberty,
(3) Method, Machinery and Extent of control,
(4) Delegation to Local Bodies of functions assigned to provincial Government and financial provisions to carry them out including Land Administration and Regulations, etc.

(b) That the Institute should also appoint a Committee to go into the above questions and sub-committees reports.

(c) The Committee should also examine the relations between local authority and its school board and between Government on the one hand and local authority and school board on the other hand."

In moving the above resolution Mr. Mehta said that ninety per cent of the money spent by the Government had nothing to do with the happiness of the people. Law and order had been placed heavily on the heads of the Government and not the happiness of the people, though the money expended by the Government went out of the pocket of the people.

PRESS

Indian

The "Hindustan Times" says that the proposals are in colloidal form where they are explicit and reactionary where they are uncertain. The Gov-

ernment have reserved to themselves the means to retreat. The paper characterises the scheme as " a mockery of progress. "

The White Paper gives the Viceroy the powers of a hundred Hitlers and Mussolinis, declares the " National Call " and after commenting on the maturing of the scheme, says that the scheme falls short even of the Simon Report. The paper holds that the scheme is a concession to Churchill and ends with the threat that "it is bound to open a further era of trouble and discord. "

The " Pioneer " says that the document fully justifies the plea of men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who held out for accepting the proposed constitution. One thing, however, is disappointing, it is the neglect of landlords and the scanty representation for talukdar, which is a source of just grievance.

The Civil and Military Gazette says that no document such as the White Paper can hope to satisfy all the interests of this vast, heterogeneous country for it has been left to the British Government to fill the gaps where it was found impossible at the Round Table Conference to reach an agreement. In view of the inability of the Indian leaders to agree, nothing remains but to make the most of what is offered itself a very large measure of advance with full autonomous government in the provinces. The paper says that it is the duty of all who consider federation to be the right solution to India's problems to utilise the interval before the constituent Act is evolved, to endeavour to win over the requisite fifty per cent. of the Princes to their view.

The " Tribune " says: Altogether the White Paper justifies the worst apprehension of those who were indulging in gloomy forebodings during the last few months. The constitution outlined therein is utterly unacceptable to even the most moderate section of Indian opinion. We have not the smallest doubt that all those who have any right to speak on behalf of political India will with one voice reject the offer contained in the document. The " Tribune " describes the proposals as a definite infringement of the basic principles laid down in October, the Premier's speech at the conclusion of the First Round Table Conference and the Delhi agreement, and says that the safeguards so far from being conceived in the interests of India, are mostly incompatible with if not, completely subversive of those interests.

" Leader " says: " We cannot say that we have read it with pleasure or satisfaction, but we cannot say too that it has disappointed expectation. It is safe to say that the White Paper proposals will meet no better reception than the conclusions of the last Round Table Conference, which failed to meet with the approval of progressive opinion in this country. There is one supreme test, by which the proposals have to and will be judged by our countrymen—will they, and to what event will they, transfer powers to the future legislatures and the Governments responsible to them ? The proposals as a whole compel one to the conclusion that in all essential matters they do not even fractionally fulfil a test in the sphere of Central Government and will do so very incompletely in other matters, while even in provinces transference of power will be so subject to limitations as to remain utterly inadequate. " The paper goes on to say " the White Paper holds out no prospect that India will be accorded dominion status. Except partially we fear, in a small part, India will continue to a dependency with national self-respect unsatisfied, and not an equal partner of Britain. Nearly in every incident subjection will still be a fact and reality under the proposed constitution, as it is at present. "

The "Times of India" indicates some points whereon the influential section of Indian opinion will find the White Paper unsatisfactory, warns that to reject it would simply be a play into the hands of Conservative diehards, who determined to oppose Central responsibility. The Paper opines that India's obvious duty is to accept the White Paper as the basis of discussion in the Select Committee and urges to display solidarity on lines of earnest and helpful co-operation. The paper concludes recalling the proverb quoted by Mr. Gandhi "much wants more and loses all." The goal of many years endeavour is before us. Let us press forward manfully to its attainment.

"Bombay Chronicle" declares "inadequate unacceptable provisions." "Sinister precautions." "This forbidding document have the appearance of being devised more with a view to maintaining the grip of White Hall on Indian policy of administration than solicitude for fulfilling many pledges to Indians and transferring political control to Indian hands. The paper stresses that it is ominously stated that it is probable that new provincial governments will be brought into being in advance of changes in the Central Government and declares provincial autonomy without central responsibility remains.

"Indian Express" says: "The entire body of the proposals are based on the wholesale distrust of Indian capacity and the complete reluctance to part with the substance of power in any direction. The result is a hybrid and fantastic structure, bound to topple down by its inherent complexity and impracticability. Whatever else may be in doubt, it can be predicted with certainty that the White Paper or the Constitution based upon it, is not going to achieve political peace or contentment."

British

The "Morning Post" adversely criticises the proposals and comments that the Government's offer of retirement of European and Indian Civil servants on the calm assumption that the new constitution will become law seems rather contemptuous to Parliament. Under the disguise of all its smooth assurances, the White Paper is not a deed of partnership but an instrument of abdication.

The "Daily Telegraph" welcomes the proposals which make the impression of a prudent as well as a forward-looking statesmanship on those who admit that a Government without consent is no longer a practicable policy in India. The Paper suggests, however, that the Second Chambers ought to be provided constitutionally in every province and not merely in three out of eleven.

The "Daily Herald" thinks that they are not good enough under the proposed reforms. The final word of British India should be with the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors. It adds that certainly this is yet only the project of a Bill. There is still an opportunity for discussion and for modification. It would certainly be unwise for the Indian leaders to refuse to participate in these discussions.

The "Times" issued a special eight-page supplement setting out the full text of the principal document in order that interested persons may devote themselves to a detailed study before commenting on it. In a leading article the paper states that it is the most important document in that connection appearing since the report of the Statutory Commission. Its pub-

lication is likely to be regretted at first by hubbub and opposition from every quarter, which is commonly the fate of a document of that sort, more especially where India is concerned. All that need be said is that it is prominent as such examination as has been possible goes to suggest that it does faithfully translate that measure of agreement reached between Englishmen and Indians in the last few years. Its workability like that of every constitution in the world will depend in the last resort upon the common readiness to work it.

The "Daily Mail" thinks that it is a perilous experiment. Government would show the truest wisdom in going forward very slowly at a time when the whole world is disturbed by unfavourable perilous experiments."

The "Daily Express" interprets it as "surrender." Government propose to add a number of provincial administrations, thus increasing the centres of disaffection and conflict with the present executive in India.

The "News Chronicle" says that it is only fair for Government to say that it has not abandoned the goal of self-government with safeguards. The list of Viceroy's reserved powers certainly looks formidable, and it may be less formidable when realised that these powers are emergency powers, and will only be exercised on rare occasions when they may be necessary.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

RESOLUTIONS

THOUGH the Indian National Congress has not been declared an unlawful body, the Reception Committee which was formed in Calcutta for holding the 47th Session was declared unlawful and successive chairmen of the Committee were arrested or restrained. However, on April 1 delegates from all parts of Indian numbering 2,500 assembled at the Dharamtolla-Esplanade crossing, Calcutta. Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta was elected President. She was arrested before she was able to conclude her address. The following resolutions were adopted by the delegates in the midst of police prohibition:—

1. Goal of Independence

This Congress re-affirms the resolution passed at its 44th Session at Lahore in 1929 declaring Complete Independence as its goal.

2. Civil Disobedience: A Legitimate Weapon

This Congress holds Civil Disobedience to be a perfectly legitimate means for the protection of the rights of the people, for the vindication of national self-respect, and for the attainment of the national goal.

3. Adherence to the Civil Disobedience Programme

This Congress re-affirms the decision of the Working Committee arrived at on the 1st January, 1932.

4. Boycott

This Congress calls upon all classes and sections of the people in this country to completely eschew foreign cloth, to give preference to khaddar and to boycott British goods.

5. White Paper

This Congress holds that no constitution framed by the British Government while it is engaged in conducting a campaign of ruthless repression, involving the imprisonment and internment of the most trusted leaders of the nation and thousands of their followers, suppression of the fundamental rights of free speech and association, stringent restraint on the liberty of the press and replacement of the normal civil law by virtual martial law, deliberately initiated by it on the eve of Mahatma Gandhi's return from England with a view to crush the national spirit, can be worthy of consideration by or acceptable to the people of India.

The Congress is confident that the public will not be duped by the scheme outlined in the recently published White Paper which is inimical to the vital interests of India and is devised to perpetuate foreign domination in this country.

6. Gandhiji's Fast

This Congress offers its congratulations to the country on the successful termination of Mahatma Gandhi's fast of September 1932 and hopes that untouchability will before long become a thing of the past.

7. Fundamental Rights

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what "Swaraj," as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. With this object in view it reiterates Resolution No. 14 of the Karachi Sessions of the Congress of 1931.

MADANMOHAN MALAVIYA'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Owing to the Punditji's detention at Asansol on the way to Calcutta, a large part of his presidential address to the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, could not be delivered.

The following are extracts from the presidential address of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—

I offer my profound thanks for the honour of being called upon to preside over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress. That the honour has been conferred on me at a time when the country is placed in very abnormal circumstances, when our revered countryman Mahatma Gandhi— and a large number of India's patriotic sons and daughters are still undergoing imprisonment makes my gratefulness for this signal mark of confidence in me all the greater. I also fully realise the responsibility which has thus been placed upon me, I pray that I may prove equal to it.

When I was entering Delhi to preside over the Congress last year, I was arrested and detained in jail until some time after the Congress had met and passed its resolutions in spite of the efforts of the police to prevent it from doing so. This fact and the attitude of the Government, towards the Congress as disclosed in recent official announcements had prepared people to apprehend that I would not be allowed to attend the Congress this year also. This is no longer a matter of conjecture.

Police Activity

Last year the Government arrested a large number of people on their way to attend the Congress at Delhi. This year also I hear that the police are very active in preventing people from going to Calcutta to attend the Congress. But apprehending perhaps that like last year they will fail this year also in preventing delegates from reaching Calcutta the Police Commissioner of Calcutta has issued a press notification warning the public that whosoever harbours, receives or assembles in any house or premises in his occupation or charge or under his control a person whom he knows to have been deputed to Calcutta as a delegate to the Indian National Congress, 1933, will render himself liable to prosecution under the Penal Code. He has also warned all landlords that the reception committee of the said Congress has been declared an unlawful association and that any place which in the opinion of the Bengal Government is used for the purpose of the said unlawful association is liable to be notified and taken possession of by the police who may direct arrest of any person therein and take possession of the movable property found therein.

Congress Record

Its present attitude is morally indefensible and politically unwise. It cannot be too strongly condemned. The Congress may well be described as the unofficial Parliament of India. It is the greatest and most active political organisation of the country. It has been in existence now for forty-seven years. It has a great record behind it. The most important constitu-

tional and administrative reforms which have taken place in India during the last half century have all been due to the work or pressure of the Congress. It has been the constant and fearless champion of the people's right for freedom and self-government. The forty-six volumes of its reports, the numerous reports of its Provincial and District Conferences, and the proceedings of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, all eloquently attest how the Congress has been fighting for measure after measure with only one object in view, namely, the amelioration of the condition of the people and their national advancement in all important directions.

It has always pleaded for equal political rights and equal justice to all classes and sections of the people. During the last thirteen years, the most respected of Congressmen have repeatedly suffered imprisonment for the sake of the country's cause. For all these reasons the people regard the Congress as their best friend and guide, and are ever willing to listen to its advice, even when it involves a sacrifice of their personal interests.

Recent History

Ever since the Montford proposals were published the Congress has been pressing for the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government of India. Finding that the Government gave no sign of willingness to respond to the request the Congress declared in 1929 that if Government would not announce their willingness to grant British Dominion Status to India up to the end of the next year, the Congress would advise the country to declare itself for complete independence. The Viceroy did make a declaration on first November 1929, but that did not meet the requirements of the Congress, and consequently on the first day of January, 1930, the Congress declared complete independence to be its goal. On March 12, succeeding, Mahatma Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement to bring pressure to bear upon the Government to concede to minimum national demand which he clearly defined. The Government adopted strong measures to suppress the movement. But it failed to do so. Then after nearly a year's resolute administration Lord Irwin's Government considered it wise and just to make a truce with the Congress through Mr. Gandhi which is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

The Pact was made with the approval of the British Government.

Second R. T. C.

The Congress was then invited by the Prime Minister of England to send its representatives to the Round Table Conference because it was felt by the Government that without the Congress the Conference could not be regarded as fully representative. The Congress appointed Mahatma Gandhi as its sole representative and he attended the conference as such. He returned to India anxious to co-operate with the Government in the further work of the conference. But while the conference was going on in London, the general election in England brought a large Conservative majority into Parliament and a strong Conservative became the Secretary of State for India.

"As the result of the election" in the words of Mr. Benthall, who represented the European Merchants of Calcutta at the Conference, the "policy 'undoubtedly' changed." The right wing of the new government made up its mind to break up the conference and to fight Congress. The Muslims who do not want central responsibility were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with provincial autonomy with a promise of "central reform." "We have made up our minds," continues Mr. Benthall, "before this that a fight with Congress was inevitable; we felt and said that the sooner it came the better." "But we made up our

minds that for a crushing success we should have all possible friends on our side. The important thing to us seemed to be to carry the Hindu in the street represented by such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro and others. If we could not get them to fight Congress, we could at least ensure that they would not back Congress. "We pressed upon Government that the one essential earnest of good faith which would satisfy these people was to undertake to bring in the Provincial and Central Constitution in one Act."

"So we joined with strange companions. Government saw the argument; and the Conference instead of breaking up in disorder with 100 per cent of Hindu political India against us ended in promises of co-operation by 99 per cent of the conference, including even such people as Malaviya, while Gandhi himself was disposed to join the standing committee."

Interview Refused

This needs no comment. The subsequent pronouncements and actions of the Government, culminating in the statement of January 4, 1932, have made it clear that even before the return home of Mahatma Gandhi, the Government had decided upon launching a strong, carefully planned, comprehensive attack on the Congress and had coolly concerted their plans for it. In the light of these facts it becomes easy to understand why the Viceroy refused to grant an interview to Mahatma Gandhi when he so earnestly sought it with a view to remove the differences which had arisen between the Government and the Congress in some provinces and to avert resort to civil disobedience. The Government did not give him that opportunity and has kept him interned since that time. The attack on the Congress was hurled like an avalanche. The most drastic ordinances were promulgated and extended to all parts of India which gave to officials almost unlimited power over the public and resulted in unparalleled repression throughout the country.

An Open Secret

It is estimated that nearly 120,000 persons including several thousand women and quite a number of children have been arrested and imprisoned during the last fifteen months. It is an open secret that when the Government started repression the official expectation was that they would crush the Congress in six weeks' time. Fifteen months have not enabled the Government to achieve that object. Twice fifteen months will not enable it to do so. While the Government has with the use of physical force largely checked the outward demonstration of defiance of its authority, the moral victory has been with the Congress which has kept up every essential line of its activity. The prestige of the Government has been greatly lowered by the change of the policy due to a strong Conservative Party having come into power in Parliament. The oppression that has been carried on has made the feelings of the people against the Government more bitter than they were ever before, and the desire to sever the connection with England has been spreading and growing stronger and stronger.

Civil Disobedience

It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Government that its quarrel with the Congress is due to the adoption of civil disobedience by the Congress. I have shown above by quoting the letter of Mr. Benthall that the Conservative Party and the European Community of Calcutta decided to fight the Congress not because it had taken up the civil disobedience movement, but because it insisted upon a real transfer of power from British to Indian hands in other words, upon having the substance of independence in the management of the country's affairs. It must be remembered that as

Sir Samuel Hoare stated, the initiative this time has been with the Government. The Congress offered civil disobedience in defence of the rights of the people which were attacked by the Government by means of the ordinances passed under existing laws. It has throughout the campaign been in the power of the Government to stop civil disobedience by withdrawing the ordinances or by abandoning the policy of repression. From what I have stated above it follows that even if the Congress suspended civil disobedience the present Government in England and in India would still fight the Congress until it agreed to accept the severely limited measures of reform which is all they have decided in their wisdom to concede to India.

Sovereign Power

The great English writer Dicey has said: "The external limit to the real power of a sovereign consists in the possibility or certainty that his subjects, or large numbers of them, will disobey or resist his laws," and still further: "A sovereign may wish to do many things which he either cannot do at all or can do only at great risk of serious resistance, and it is on many accounts worth observation that the exact point at which the external limitation begins to operate, that is, the point at which subjects will offer serious or insuperable resistance to the commands of a ruler whom they generally obey, is never fixed with precision." Another great writer cited by Dicey has said: "If a legislature decided that all blue-eyed babies should be murdered, the preservation of blue-eyed babies would be illegal. But legislators must go mad before they could pass such a law and subjects be idiotic before they could submit to it." This limitation exists even under the most despotic monarchies."

It is indisputable therefore that if a legislature or a despot should promulgate a law which is obviously unjust or oppressive and attacks our elementary liberties, the people have the right to disobey such a law and to offer to it "serious and insuperable resistance." This right of disobedience or resistance is a most valuable constitutional weapon in the hands of a people, by the fear of which they can force legislators or despots to exercise their powers within the limits of reason and justice, and by which they can re-establish their natural rights and liberties when they have been attacked or invaded. The greatest of our liberties is the liberty of opinion. It was said by Erskine that "other liberties are held under Government, but the liberty of opinion keeps governments themselves in due subjection to their duties. This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age, and the world has been only purged from ignorance with the innocent blood of those who have enlightened it." It is our duty therefore to resist or disobey a "law" under the guise of which our liberty of association and free speech is attacked. Mahatma Gandhi has done a great service to mankind by teaching that resistance should be offered in a civil nonviolent manner, calmly bearing the injury that may be inflicted and forbearing from inflicting it on others. His teaching has been accepted by millions of people in India. Let us follow it with firm faith that righteousness will triumph and let us tell the British Government that the people of India, disarmed, living under a foreign despotic rule, and thirsting to regain their freedom, will not in any event abjure this invincible shield of Civil Disobedience.

Relations Of India And England

Notwithstanding all the assurances of equality of treatment in the days of the war, after the war was over England has changed her attitude towards India. It has never yet agreed that India should exercise the right of self-determination to establish which she contributed her lives and

treasure. On the contrary she has treated Indians during the last thirteen years as a race whose pace of progress towards self-government must be determined by the Parliament of England.

The White Paper

England has gone on preparing a constitution for the future Government of India with the help of some Indians of its own selection and liking. It has framed the constitution under the claim that it is the right and moral obligation of the British Parliament to determine to what extent and with what limitations and safeguards it will allow India to administer its own affairs. The White Paper is an ugly revelation of the attitude of British statesmen who dominate the English Parliament to-day towards India and her problems. It constitutes a deliberate affront to the patriotism and intelligence of India. Indeed it proposes to make the position of Indians worse than it is to-day.

It was idle to expect that a constitution born under the influence of the attitude which British statesmen entertain towards India could be one which could be acceptable to the Indian people. It is not surprising that the White Paper is being condemned all over the country. I hope that no self-respecting Indian who has a correct sense of his duty towards the motherland will, take part in any further confabulations regarding the White Paper unless and until the British Government should change its present policy and should make up its mind to treat Indians as equal fellow-men who are as much entitled to complete independence in the management of their own affairs as England herself is in regard to her own affairs.

Appeal to the Country

I appeal to my countrymen to wake up to the reality of the situation. I take it that every Indian wants that we should have complete freedom for the management of our own affairs. The attainment of this freedom will become easier if we will unite and work with one mind and purpose to achieve it. I implore all Hindus and Mussalmans, Sikhs, Christians and Parsees and all other countrymen to sink all communal differences and to establish political unity among all sections of the people.

The Unity Conference which was held at Allahabad has nearly brought about communal agreement. I earnestly hope that the Conference will soon resume its work and complete it to the satisfaction of all communities. Our national political aims are common to all parties and with the disillusionment which the White Paper has brought about, I have every reason why we should not be able to establish political unity in the country. If we succeed in doing so, the pressure of United India is bound to induce the British Government to revise its attitude towards India and Indians and to invite them to exercise their right of self-determination and to prepare a constitution which shall give India real independence to manage her own affairs.

Concluding his address, Pandit Malaviya said:—

Our goal is clear. Our determination to achieve it is sufficiently evidenced by the sacrifices under gone by countless men, women and children within the last three years. The world has marvelled at the heroic fight we have carried on. Our women and children have earned for themselves an imperishable name by the noble part they have played in our struggle for freedom. But let us still further strengthen our determination. Freedom's full price must be paid. The Congress is the one friend of the people of all classes and all sections.

CONFERENCES

SCIENCE CONFERENCE

Twentieth Session

SIR Courtney Terrell, Chief Justice, Patna High Court opened the twentieth session of the Indian Science Congress in the Wheeler Senate House at Patna on January 2nd. About 300 delegates attended.

Sir Courtney Terrell in his address, said:

The abstract of papers for your consideration is of imposing size, and serves to illustrate the vast expanding universe of knowledge. You who live on the periphery of a mighty development where the field for any single man is a rapidly diminishing fraction of the outer area, must feel the ever-increasing difficulty of integrating that area for human comprehension. The task of the scientific philosopher grows ever greater with the radial acceleration of knowledge from the centre of ignorance. Yet, periodical attempts at such integration are necessary, if the direction of expansion is to remain under human control to serve human welfare. We do not observe or anticipate a great modification of the human body. Everything has to be translated into terms of our very limited senses before it can be appreciated by the mind. The mathematician has perhaps the easiest task in those fields which are susceptible to his methods, for his symbols though anthropomorphic in origin and essence, have apparently unlimited capacity. But how is one to integrate the advances in knowledge of organic life? One trembles to contemplate the compilation of the bio-chemical or entomological treatise fifty years hence, for the man of fifty years hence will not differ materially from the man of to-day. There is yet a further difficulty. At any moment, an occurrence at any point on the ever-expanding surface of collective knowledge may affect the whole developmnt and compel a new orientation of effort.

CO-ORDINATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The difficulty of inter-communication between groups of scientists shows a geometrical increase and the establishment of nodal points of exchange is becoming a superhuman task. The scientific world is now seeking some system of discipline over groups and sub-groups of investigators and the establishment, all over the world, of various councils for scientific research now affords some guidance for future workers. A sacrifice in the matter of independence of inquiry is compensated by better co-ordination for the benefit of all. We need general officers to control inquiry, quite as much as regimental soldiers in the front line, and behind these again, corps commanders to deal with wide questions of strategy, having regard to human needs. And in Science, we need have no fear that we shall lose the free-lance soldier of fortune. He will always be a glorious future, and always with us in our invasion of the secrets of Nature. To pursue this military analogy one stage further, might not each sub-section of this Congress appoint a staff officer to prepare an appreciation of the local situation and suggest plans of campaign for the following year?

Agricultural Section

Presiding over the Agricultural Section of the Indian Science Congress, Mr. M. Afzal Husain, Locust Research Entomologist to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, emphasised on January 4th the importance of Ecological studies in crop-production and crop-protection. In the course of his address he said:

"The complexities of the problems and the difficulties that face us are enormous. Meteorological data, as required, have little value in Ecological investigations. Accurate information of the conditions in the immediate surroundings of the crops, such as, soil temperature and moisture at different height and at different times of the day, temperature on the surface of the plant and inside it, intensity of solar radiation, its periodicity, cloudiness, precipitation, air currents, pressure, electric condition of the atmosphere, physical and chemical composition of the soil and air, general factors, such as, climate and climate rhythms, and many other factors of importance has to be studied and their influence determined.

"In Experimental Ecology, the environmental factors have to be stimulated and this further presents enormous difficulties. To overcome these all the natural sciences have to be mobilised; physics, chemistry, soils-science, bacteriology, botany, zoology, physiology, and meteorology. It is this aspect of agricultural research in which co-operation between the Science departments of the universities and the Department of Agriculture is most necessary.

"I cannot close this plea for a study of Ecology in relation to agriculture, without saying a few words about the requisite training for research workers in this line. Unfortunately, our universities have not yet recognised the true importance of Ecology as a branch of knowledge, with wide application and providing excellent mental training. The result is that it is not possible to find young men well equipped for Ecological research. It is the function of the Indian universities to supply the departments of agriculture with trained ecologists. Perhaps, a beginning may be made by providing facilities for training at one centre.

Geological Section

Prof. N. P. Gandhi, of the Benares Hindu University, presiding over the Geological section of the Indian Science Congress said:

"Our mineral resources are vast and varied, but our production is small. Our area is one-thirtieth and our population one-fifth of the world, but our annual mineral production is only one-fiftieth of the world by weight, and one hundredth in value, approximately. We are largely exporters of raw minerals or semi-finished products, and importers of finished products. Other countries can give us a slap on the face by shutting out, by means of tariffs, even our developed minerals and semi-finished products like manganese and pig-iron of which we have a surplus, and yet we must go to them, with folded hands, with other minerals like mica which they need, and of which we are the world's principal producers, but which we are unable to use ourselves. Is it not time that we set our house in order? Is it not time that we concentrated, smelted or fabricated, for our own use, such of our minerals as we have in plenty, and for which we possess facilities? Is it not time that we offered for export some of the minerals, of which we possess large supplies, in manufactured forms?"

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Owing to ill-health, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain could not attend the Indian Economic Conference presided over by Dr. Radhakamal Mukerji held at New Delhi on January 2nd and his inaugural address was read by Sir Frank Noyce.

Inaugural Address

The following is the text of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's address to the Conference:

PRE-EMINENCE OF ECONOMICS

No student of contemporary history can fail to be struck by the pre-eminent importance of Economics to the individual as well as to the community. It would not be too bold a generalisation to affirm that as religion was the dominant factor in men's thoughts in the Middle Ages and Political Nationalism the most powerful passion of the Post-Reformation world, so Economics will be the main pre-occupation of these and possibly succeeding times. This poor world is in a sad plight, because economic forces today are not under ordered control. Science and its most amazing creation, machinery, have revolutionised production and yet in the midst of this unparalleled plenty, poverty and privation are rampant. Farmers in the New World have been burning wheat, while men, women and children have been starving for want of bread in some regions of the Old. Abundant harvests which should have enriched those who toiled to produce them have brought the cultivator, as we know from our own experience, even less cash with which to pay his rent or revenue than the meagre crops in other days. Suggestions, more or less convincing, are not wanting to explain this stage of tragic paradox. Production has out-run demand, says some facile theorist. Mechanisation has increased unemployment, says another, with seemingly greater approximation to the truth. The machinery of distribution has broken down under the strain of rationalised production, opines a third. Economic nationalism with its tariff barriers is blamed for our misery by a fourth. The crushing burden of the war debts and the dislocation of world currencies by unnatural accumulation and immobilisation of gold in one or two countries are also stated to be responsible for our misfortunes.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEM

India's economic problem is two-fold. She must have profitable and stable markets for her raw produce. She must in order to find occupation for her increasing population maintain a healthy balance between agriculture and industry, and so continue the process of industrial development which the policy of discriminative protection has made possible. These two objects cannot be fully achieved unless world prosperity revives, and such a revival cannot take place unless every country, viewed as an economic unit has its purchasing power restored. This again, to pursue my lay line of reasoning, can hardly be effected unless each country is enabled to pay for what it buys by its services and its production. The need of the world to-day is a harmonious synthesis of seemingly divergent interests. India must strive to make a contribution to this endeavour, commensurate with her interests in its success.

AN ECONOMIC GENERAL STAFF

You will agree that the immensity of the subject and the dynamic quality of the data, on which you have to work need co-ordination and continuity of effort. It will not suffice for you to meet in a brief but stimulating conclave and then part to forget or to slacken effort. What is needed, if I might borrow a metaphor from Military Science, is an Economic General Staff to study and to plan incessantly. You might ask: Is that not the function of the Government? My answer to the question would be, that while the Government might have, probably has an important role to play in this activity, its success will depend mainly upon the measure of voluntary private aid that it can enlist. It will be admitted that the efficacy of any solution of the economic problem is in strict proportion to its fidelity to facts. The Government has collected and continues to amass facts of economic value. The Department of Commercial Intelligence is its most valuable instrument for this purpose. Special Commissions appointed from time to time have helped to enlarge our knowledge of special subjects. The Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Central Banking Inquiry Committee are the most notable recent examples of these. But valuable as this mass of material is, it probably constitutes only a small fraction of what is required. To take our staple industry in this country, agriculture, more than 70 per cent of our population depend upon it. Their very livelihood is bound up with its prosperity. And how many factors enter into it? There is the size of the holding. Is it economical or uneconomical? There is the productivity of the soil. Have centuries of use exhausted its capacity or can Science restore or even improve its capacity? Can results of scientific research be brought within the means of the average cultivator? How can his credit be best improved, his all too meagre returns saved from the middleman or money-lender? I can easily enlarge my catalogue of sentences with question marks. Those I have already mentioned, will suggest to you how many gaps there still are in our knowledge and how impossible it will be for the Government to fill them within any reasonable period of time, unless broad-based private effort supplements its activities.

The Punjab Board of Economic Studies has done much in this direction. Its example deserves emulation. But it is not merely a matter of investigation and collection of facts. Practical self-interest and experience must use them to present a coherent picture.

REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

The Chambers of Commerce, and representatives of other interests and organisations such as this Conference must all join in the battle. Here in dim outline, you have my ideal—private effort, individual and collective, marching and converging towards a common objective, guided by the General Staff, to which both the Governments and they might contribute. I have used the word "Governments" advisedly, because, to my mind in a country of the size and human numbers of India, not only are Local Governments associated, but like modern armies operating over a vast theatre, they are given the maximum of free initiative compatible with the achievement of the main strategic aim. Being in close touch with the population and with the local conditions, they alone can gauge and appreciate the local wants and carry, through their administrative agents, to the door of the cultivator and the worker, the aid and counsel that they need for pulling their full weight in a common effort and guide them in so far as they need official guidance. The power at the Centre, with its command

of finance in the broader sense of the term and of transport—two very vital organs in the modern body economic—its control of fiscal policy and its special advantages for collecting, classifying and disseminating information of economic value, is undoubtedly cast for a great role in aiding and guiding national economic effort. But the importance of the provinces must not be minimised altogether.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji's Presidential Address

"The policy of economic protectionism in Federal India must be based on a consideration of conditions which envisage mutual utilisation of the products of the different economic regions and groups of producers." This opinion was expressed by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji in his Presidential address.

Prof. Mukherji said that the conflicting interests of the different zones, sections and groups of products, must be brought into some kind of balance in the economic structure of the nation, especially in a democratic Federal State like the India of the future. In a vast and heterogeneous nation, regional geography and ecology were central facts and the task of statesmanship consisted in the co-ordination of the special interests of the different regions and sections and bringing them all together in a common economic policy. On the other hand, Federalism, as a political experiment, was bound to fail in the absence of economic inter-penetration and the right balancing of the interests of the different regions and sections. If man overstrained, and snapped the vital threads which he could only partially unravel and upset the ecologic balance definitely against him, the phenomena of diminishing returns would be quickly in evidence. The Rajputana Desert was extending. Not merely in the Ganges valley, but also in the Punjab and the Deccan Plateau and South India the effects of the loss of the ecological balance of man were clearly discernible in the deterioration of agriculture and rural life generally. Thus, scientific agriculture in fertile plains, forestry in mountain slopes and pasture farming in poor and cheap land, helped one another.

MAXIMUM USE OF WORLD RESOURCES

Proceeding, Prof. Mukherji asserted that the maximum utilization of the world's material and human resources was only possible through international co-operation. The older policy of securing, by any means, an excess of exports over imports and currency deflation and unrestricted short or long term foreign investment, suited the period of isolationist economic nationalism. The present complex and bewildering world economic situation could be met neither by exclusive national measures nor by imperial or territorial pacts and policies, but by international co-ordination and agreement. There were to be sought in a larger use of silver along with gold, as supplementary currency, the stimulation of demand through schemes of employment and the abolition of tariff barriers in which the most important countries of the world must agree. The success of such a measure, which would raise the level of the world prices and initiate a new era of economic prosperity, could be assured neither by the American spirit of "Hands Off" nor by the British Imperialistic outlook. The advantages accruing from preferential tariffs were of minor importance in the present situation as compared with those which might be derived from a higher price level. For unless and until raw materials and staple exports of an industrially backward country, obtained higher prices abroad, its low purchasing power would stand in the way of a revival of its foreign trade

and its meeting its internal and external obligations. On the other hand, a decline in the revenue from customs duties would lead to the imposition of higher tariffs and thus a vicious circle created, involving the country in a decline of trade, a reduction of wages, an increase of indebtedness and financial chaos.

Prof. Mukherji saw that salvation lay in economic internationalism, which must be adopted by the forthcoming World Economic Conference. It must be through compromise and concession and joint-monetary management, that the world prosperity would be restored.

Another problem, which demanded international agreement, was the question of Oriental Emigration. There was a grave maladjustment of population, crowded on only one-tenth of its land-surfaces within the British Empire. The question of open-door for Indian emigrants in the undeveloped parts of British Africa, Canada and Australia was still taboo. The world was advancing towards a new inter-dependence and co-operation of the resources, both human and natural, of the different regions. An international code of emigration, establishing equality of opportunities, would sooner or later be formulated, following up the method and procedure of the international Labour legislation.

Finance Member's Speech

"In the first place," said the Finance Member, "there is the great improvement in the credit of India and in the Government's own financial position, which has come about since 1931. Indian securities have appreciated enormously, especially Sterling securities, so that whereas at the time of the crisis, Japan's credit was higher than India's, to-day Japanese securities in London are now almost on the nine centum basis, whereas Indian securities stand at prices yielding not more than four centum. Another sign of improvement for India has been the great fall in the value of our floating debt."

As regards the general budgetary position, the Finance Member emphasised that, under pressure of the economic crisis, they had been able to achieve most important economies in public expenditure. He added: "To this extent, if only we can get some general recovery in the next year or two, the economic depression will have proved a blessing in disguise for the new Constitution to which we are looking forward, will be launched with its expenditure machinery thoroughly overhauled and much less costly. India ought therefore to be in a strong position to take advantage, of the recovery.

PURCHASING POWER OF THE MASSES

Sir George Schuster next answered those who might contend that his previous argument did not much help the people of the country, and that while reduced expenditure and improved credit might result in the ultimate lightening of taxation, nevertheless, at present, the people were suffering from a serious drop in their purchasing power and crippling taxation. Sir George Schuster said that there was some truth in this, but the picture must be viewed from the proper perspective. There were several mitigating factors. The country was still apparently able to import a fair volume of merchandise and the value of the total retained imports for the eight months of the past year to the end of November were higher by eight crores than the figure for the previous year. The increase occurred solely under two heads. The value of the imports of raw cotton were one crore more than last year, and two-and-a-half crores more than the figure for the corresponding period in 1930. The value of the imports of raw silk had gone up by Rs. 58 lakhs on the 1931 and by Rs. 23 lakhs on the 1930

figures. Yet, in spite of this increase in home manufacture, the imports of cotton yarn and manufactures had increased by 6¼ crores since 1931. Taking the whole range of fabrics, cotton, jute, silk, woollen and others, the value of imports for the first eight months of the year were Rs. 8¾ crores over the 1931 figure and 1 1/3 crores over the 1930 figure. It was therefore, in raw material for the textile industry, cotton and silk, and in piece goods that large increases had occurred.

Sir George Schuster commented: "These are very interesting figures, for piece goods cover the needs of the poorest classes, and when they are considered together with salt and kerosine, one is surprised at the way wherein this country seems to maintain a certain minimum standard of consumption in spite of economic earthquakes. In the present crisis, there are many peoples of the world who cannot even secure the barest necessities."

DEVELOPMENT IN MINOR INDUSTRIES

Sir George Schuster next turned to some other aspects of comparative brightness in the prevailing gloom. He claimed that the Government's plans for dealing with the financial crisis had brought some benefit to India. The Ottawa debate had shown that there had been in the last two years, considerable development in minor Indian industries as an indirect result of the revenue tariffs. This was of great importance, though for lack of statistics as to internal trade and production, it was impossible to assess it in exact terms. Side by side with this, two major Indian industries had been advancing very rapidly, namely, textile and sugar: "In the field of these two Indian industries, there is to-day a volume of activity and at least some patches of prosperity (in the sense of high profits), for which there is no parallel in the rest of the world. As regards the former, I have been studying some of the Tariff Board statistics. I will give you the following comparison between 1926-27 and 1931-32. In the earlier year, imports of piecegoods retained in India were just over 1,600 million yards and Indian home production just over 3,500 million yards. For 1931-32, the retained imports were only 670 million yards and the Indian production increased to 4,450 million yards. This represents a tremendous turn-over from imported to Indian goods, and demonstrates the existence of an industry thriving and growing in spite of these hard times. Then again, after allowing for the exports of Indian goods, the total quantity of goods both, foreign and Indian, retained in India for consumption in 1926-27 was 4,896 million yards. In 1931-32, it was 4,912 million yards. These figures indicate that the Indian demand must be keeping up amazingly well compared with that of the rest of the world. It must be remembered that both local production and imports are much higher for the current year than in 1931-32. Sugar manufacture is advancing rapidly and the Government policy has been a saving factor to agriculturists in provinces like U. P.

Sir George Schuster referred to another bright spot, namely, that there had been since 1930-31 a remarkable improvement in the net receipts from the post office cash certificates. The total net receipts in 1931-32 were 615 lakhs; while in the last eight months, the receipts totalled Rs. 817 lakhs. These figures showed that at least some part of the proceeds of gold was being converted into other forms of investment even by the smallest class of investor. "This is very encouraging. As I have often pointed out, if gold, imported into India since 1900, was converted into Government securities, India would discharge the whole of her external debt and the annual interest payments would then accrue to Indian holders and India would be correspondingly enriched. If the present crisis has helped to start such a process, it may again be a blessing in disguise" he declared.

Sir George Schuster, continuing, said that having shown the encouraging features in the industrial field, he would enphasise that even admitting the prevalence of some depression throughout the country, especially among the agricultural classes, it was important to recognize that there are distinctions in degree as between the various parts of India. Dr. Meek had prepared for him an interesting table province by province, showing the effect of the fall in the price value of some of the main crops between 1928-29 and 1931-32. The province which had been by far the most heavily affected was Bengal. In the case of Bengal, taking the seven main crops, rice, jute, tea, sugarcane, linseed, sesamum, and rapeseed, the total value of the produce in 1928-29 was 257¼ crores and in 1931-32 just over 170 crores. Even taking rice as cash crop to the extent of only 25 per cent, the fall in the value of cash crops amounted to 77 crores. Bombay during the same period had a total fall of 25¾ crores compared to the total fall in Bengal of 137 crores in the total crop and 77 crores in cash crop. In the case of Punjab, the fall in cash crop was estimated at 10 crores, compared with Bengal's 77. In U. P., the total fall was 34½ crores, being very much smaller in percentage than Bengal. These figures, would throw some light on the subject.

NEED FOR AN ECONOMIC SURVEY

In conclusion, Sir George Schuster said that whenever one took part in these discussions, he realised the great need for a more accurate knowledge of what was really going on in India. The whole object of his remarks was to emphasise the danger of broad generalizations, and the need for a scientific objective study of the main features in the different parts of India and in the different spheres of activity. " I know it is felt by many economists that the inadequacy of Government statistics as regards internal trade and production, greatly hamper your power to undertake such studies. On this, I can only say that the question of an improvement in this respect is receiving active consideration and I hope it will be possible, very soon, to make some announcement on the subject. At the same time, we need a true picture of India to-day. Economists like you can play a great part. I feel we need a survey of India as a whole, an accurate estimate of the national income and an accurate analysis of the main headings of economic activity, showing the relative importance of each in the total contribution to the national income. India is so vast and varied a country that it is an impossible task for one man. Could you not among yourself organize co-operative efforts on these lines, dividing up the task, perhaps, allotting a sphere of enquiry to each university, but working under some general plan to ensure uniformity of method and standard in each part, and produce a properly co-ordinated picture as a whole ? The Banking enquiry was concerned only with one aspect. I feel something more is needed. This is only a personal suggestion and if it leads to practical proposals on your part, I should personally be glad to discuss them with any persons your Conference might delegate."

Discussion on Economic Depression

The subject of " Economic Depression " was then thrown open for discussion during the session.

Mr. L. C. Jain, Lecturer in Economics, Punjab University, read a paper in which he pointed out that gold exports had never been and could never be a normal feature of India's foreign trade Gold left India not only because of the higher prices, but also due to the dire economic necessity of the masses. In other words, he said that the bulk of the people were now living on their past savings or capital.

Professor Chablani, of the Delhi University, took another view. He asserted that there were important differences between the effects of the world depression in India and in other countries. In spite of the exceptional severity of the fall of prices in India, she fared in the world depression much better than most other countries. The remedies for Indian economic ills, must differ materially from the solutions applicable elsewhere.

Dr. Sinha, Lecturer, Calcutta University, refuted some of the arguments advanced in favour of gold exports and urged that gold should not be allowed to leave India in such large quantities.

Professor Kale doubted if the bottom of the depression had been reached. It was immaterial if some industries were making profits. The fall in prices had hit Agriculture and Industry as a whole. He criticised Prof. Chablani for his "incomplete" picture of India.

Dr. Bannerji also criticised the statement made by Prof. Chablani. He said that agricultural indebtedness had increased, as also dues to co-operative societies from the cultivators. There had also been large sales of agricultural lands in the various provinces during the last three years. These, he said, were not signs of prosperity, but of acute depression. He criticised the retrenchment policy of the Government and pleaded for greater retrenchment of unproductive expenditure and for placing the provinces on a sound financial basis in the future constitution.

Dr. P. J. Thomas contested Prof. Chablani's view-point that the purchasing power of the masses had not been affected by the trade depression. He asserted that all the goods which the cultivator purchased were dearer and his own products cheaper. The tariff policy of the Government had hit him still further. He claimed that the mitigating advantages pointed out by Sir George Schuster were advantages only for the industrialists in the industrial towns.

Federal Finance

The Economic Conference sitting was devoted to a discussion of Federal Finance on January 4 on which three papers were read. They were by Dr. Thomas of the Madras University, Prof. Chablani, of Delhi, and Prof. Haricharan Ghose of the Bangabasi College, Calcutta.

DR. THOMAS'S PAPER

Dr. Thomas confined himself to what is called the Peel-Percy Scheme, the crux of which was allotment of income-tax to the provinces and the payment of contributions from the provinces to make up for the deficit. Dr. Thomas said that, if it was seriously proposed to have an All-India Federation bringing in Indian States, it was essential that there should be certain basic financial principles on which that Federation should rest. The first was that, as far as possible, the Federal Units should contribute, on a uniform basis, to the Federal resources. The second principle, which was equally fair, but not so easily conceded, was that, if the object was a Federation as distinct from a Confederation, the Federal authority should have the right of levying direct taxation on all the inhabitants of the Federal territory. Although this right might be circumscribed within narrow limits in certain circumstances, it would be fatal to the interests of the Federation to make additional revenues dependent on the goodwill and pleasure of the federating units. Dr. Thomas held that, when the Indian States entered Federation, it would be fair to abolish tributes, but it was also fair, on their part, that they should concede to the Federal Government ample taxing powers, so that it might be powerful against aggression from within and

without. It was very doubtful if this was possible without touching income-tax. Such a tax would not only support the Federal finance in times of need, but would also supply additional revenues needed in the States for utility services.

Dr. Thomas felt that the schemes proposed by the Round Table Conference Committee did not properly provide for these important purposes. The principal weakness of the scheme was that it did not make adequate provision for the financial stability and solvency of the Government of India. If, as it was proposed, income-tax was to become primarily a provincial source and the Federal Government was to depend on provincial contributions for a substantial part of its normal expenditure, it was doubtful how it could command additional resources in times of emergency, especially as the units in the new Federation were to be autonomous in a real sense. With dwindling customs revenue, with the States insisting on immunity, how could the prospects before the new Federal Government be brought ? Nor were the contributions equitable as between Federating units. Firstly, it was not fair to the British Indian provinces if the whole burden of the contributions was to be borne by them. British India had already paid heavily for the maintenance of a stable Central Government and for other All-India purposes. Secondly, as between the provinces, the adjustment was far from fair. There were also technical defects in the system proposed. The net procceeds of income tax were to be credited to the Provincial Governments and yet it was to be assessed and collected by the administrative service under the Central Government.

Dr. Thomas, therefore, asserted that income-tax should primarily be a Federal source of revenue, and must guarantee the solvency of the Federal Government until the economic conditions changed for the better. The prime object of the Federation was to promote the solidarity and prosperity of India and this end could not be achieved by making the Federal Government dependent on the provincial contributions, even in case of a dire need. Indeed, the provinces must have more abundant resources in order that the nation-building departments might function vigorously. But it was not right to look to income-tax solely or even principally for such resources.

PROF. CHABLANI'S VIEWS

Professor Chablani maintained that the cumulative effect of the calculations set out by the proposals of the Federal Finance Committee, failed most signally to satisfy the test, that all parts of India should make an equitable contribution to the common purpose. They were particularly unfair to the people of the Bombay Presidency who seem to have been specially marked out for unfair treatment. The report of the Committee practically evaded the complicated issue involved in the determination of the most appropriate basis of division of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments.

Prof. Chablani proceeded: "The search for a just or equitable standard which Sir Walter Layton regarded as one of the essentials of the problem, was given up with inexplicable levity. Our expert committee, in their anxiety to balance the provincial budgets, felt themselves driven to the expedient of assessing contributions primarily with reference to the additional sources of Provincial Governments—in other words in proportion to their share of the income-tax. The Committee stated frankly that the only method of relieving the deficit provinces was to spread charges over the other provinces, without stating whether the particular method *inter se* was equitable or reasonable."

Prof. Chablani, after applying the population test to the proposal, observed that the real sufferers under the Federal Finance Committee's proposals, were Bombay and Bengal. Every other province gained at the expense of these two. The second test, tentatively suggested by the Peel Committee, was the Comparative revenues of the Provincial Governments. The Committee also proposed for the allocation of emergency contributions, the principle of distribution according to the revenues of the federating units as the best solution in the absence of a scientific survey of their relative taxable capacity. Prof. Chablani stated that no explanation had been offered as to why such a sharp distinction of principle had been drawn between what might arise in the future and the initial emergency which necessitated temporary contributions from the Provincial Governments to the Federal Governments. The initial temporary contributions, the future emergency contributions, and the distribution of the Federal surpluses were all related problems, and it was difficult to discover any valid reasons why the first should be distributed according to the additional sources of the Provincial Governments in proportion to their share of the income-tax, the second according to the total revenue of the units and the third according to the populations.

Prof. Chablani urged that a fair test would be the relative annual production or income, agricultural and non-agricultural, of each province. He asserted that, before the more advanced provinces were asked to make a sacrifice for the less advanced provinces, it must be proved that the standard of expenditure on the nation-building activities in the latter, was less than the average for the whole of India, and that any deficiency below the average could not be made up by bringing up the level of taxation in the backward parts to that of the so-called advanced provinces.

PROF. HARICHARAN GHOSE'S PROPOSALS

Mr. Haricharan Ghose attempted to follow the fundamental principles of Federal Finance as far as practicable in the peculiar conditions of India and utilised the experience of Federal countries in working out their financial structure in the preparation of a scheme which, he said, was essentially on a federal basis and the object of which was to make good the deficiencies of the present settlement in the matter of the allocation of sources of revenue between the Central and the Provincial Governments in India.

Prof. Ghose made it clear that he had neither considered the Layton Scheme nor the report of the Federal Finance Committee. He proposed that the Central Government should have (1) customs duties on imports; (2) revenue excise including salt; (3) commercial stamps; (4) twenty-five per cent of the personal income-tax; (5) super-tax; (6) a large share of the Corporation profit tax; (7) the net railway profits; (8) profits from the other Central services; (9) tributes from the Indian States; and (10) receipts from the central departments.

The following sources of income should belong to the provinces:—(1) Land rvenue, (2) irrigation, (3) judicial stamps, (4) restrictive excise, including those upon liquor, both locally made and imported, (5) registration fees, (6) seventy-five per cent of the income-tax, (7) a small share of the Corporation profit tax, (8) income-tax on agricultural income, (9) death duties, (10) sur-taxes on personal income.

Customs duty on exports were to be under the control of the Government of India, but used as a balancing factor. Prof. Ghose would apply the canon of ability in the distribution of the provincial resources among the different provinces.

Drastic Retrenchment

Dr. P. N. Banerji of Calcutta, who opened the discussion on the subject, disagreed with Professor Thomas's suggestion that the Federal Government should have the bulk of the proceeds of the income-tax in view of the important duties, such as, defence and the co-ordination of activities of the different Provincial or State Governments it would have to discharge. The speaker asked whether these duties were really of such great importance as to warrant Prof. Thomas's proposals in this respect. He pleaded for drastic retrenchment in the Military expenditure which, he said, even Sir Walter Layton admitted was incommensurate and greater in proportion than in Great Britain. Prof. Banerji advocated retrenchment in the civil departments of the Central Government also. If the Central Government in some future date undertook financial responsibility for nation-building activities, it should be seen, the speaker suggested, what more could be given to it from the share of Provincial or State Governments. He characterised the conclusions arrived at by the Percy Committee as haphazard and said that as a result thereof, certain provinces were left with a deficit, which it was proposed to make good at the cost of the other provinces. The Percy Committee ought to have evolved some fundamental principles to serve as guides for arriving at conclusions in respect of the allocation of revenues between the Centre and the provinces. Origin, he thought, would have been the most appropriate basis, though he admitted that it was sometimes difficult to trace origin. Yet, the difficulty was not insurmountable. He decried the suggestion made in certain quarters, that financial adjustments should be brought about by levying fresh taxes which, he said, was not only wrong in principle, but altogether inexpedient. He asserted that the new Constitution was bound to fail if it launched upon its career, with fresh taxation. He reiterated that the only remedy was retrenchment to a very large extent in the sphere of the Central Government and to some extent in the provinces.

Father Basenach, wanted to know the principles upon which contributions were to be assessed and in what proportions they were to be made. He met Professor Chablani's objections as to why certain provinces should be taxed higher than others, by saying "stronger shoulders should bear the heavier burdens." Hence, some provinces like Bombay should be subjected to higher taxation than others for helping the poorer provinces. This was, he said, highly desirable as Federation was going to be in the nature of a family.

Professor Vakil, felt that there was a tug-of-war between the suggestion made by Professor Thomas of Madras in his paper that the Central Government should be firmly established and that made by Prof. Banerji that the Provincial Governments should be well-equipped to carry out their responsibilities He said that he was for a reconciliation between the two view-points. If there was any room for retrenchment, it was, he held, greater in the sphere of the Central Government than in the provinces. If the Central Government were well-equipped financially, from the very beginning, they would be all the more reluctant to effect retrenchment especially in military expenditure. He looked upon contributions to the Federal Government from the States for the share of management they were going to have in the Federal sphere, as a possible source of Federal revenue. He wanted to know whether income-tax would be levied on the subjects of the Indian States and whether part of it would be given to the Federal Government.

The speaker proposed that the States should contribute a fair and proportionate share. If there was still some deficit, resort might be had to contributions.

Professor Thomson of Allahabad disagreed with the suggestion that the methods employed by the Fact Finding Committee were unscientific. He agreed with Prof. Chablani that the present proposals were unjust to Bombay and Bengal, but did not think that they were unfair to most of the major provinces. He thought that it was absolutely essential that there should be fixed sources of revenue for the Central Government and the provinces and fixed proportions according to which the distribution was to be made between the two.

The President, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerji, remarked that Prof. Banerji appeared to be very suspicious about the future powers and activities of the Central Government. But his opinion was that the Central Government should be very strong financially, as in the future it was expected to have some share in nation building activities He did not share the optimism of Prof. Thomas that the system of contributions might probably be dispensed with. If it were to be continued, a battle in the provinces he thought could not be avoided. In conclusion, he supported Prof. Chablani's view that Bombay and Bengal had received very unfair treatment at the hands of the Percy Committee.

The Ottawa Agreement

The Indian Economic Conference concluded its session on January 5th, after having a full dress debate on the Ottawa Agreement.

Discussion was initiated by Dr. Thomas of the Madras University who urged that in the interest of India, trade agreements with the countries of the world should be reached. The position of India, as exporter of raw materials, had undergone important changes in recent times, owing to mechanization of agriculture in Europe and North America and to the economic development of Africa, South America and other tropical colonies The power of India had further been weakened on account of scientific grading and more organised marketing of products of some of these countries. He said that in the absence of an international agreement, the only suitable alternative left was for each country to enter into preferential tariff agreements, and the interests of the industries of both the countries could be secured and if both countries were engaged in the same industry, an arrangement on a complementary basis could be established India, he said, needed such agreement and he saw a *prima facie* case for an agreement with the United Kingdom. His reasons for the suggestion were that the United Kingdom alone was a stable market for Indian raw products, which were exported there in semi-manufactured state. Thirdly, the United Kingdom having changed to a protectionist policy, it was best for India to enter into a preferential agreement rather than lose the market Having said this, Dr. Thomas admitted that the present agreement did not fulfil Indian requirements. He doubted if the Agreement would give a sufficient return to India in the face of the depreciated currencies of the competing countries. He also admitted that the Agreement would hit some growing protected industries.

PROF. CHABLANI'S CRITICISM

Professor Chablani of the Delhi University, asserted that the present was a most inopportune time for entering into any trade agreements or for calculating, with any approach to accuracy, the profit and loss likely to ensue from any particular bargain with the outside world. There must be some justification for the sudden and large disturbance to trade, industry and finance, inevitable in a complicated agreement like the Ottawa Pact. Prof. Chablani reminded the House that both the parties to the Ratio Controversy were bent on stabilisation of the rupee at a fixed ratio.

Prof. Chablani regretted that the full implications of linking the rupee had not yet been realised in the country. He proceeded: "Granting that the Ottawa Agreement was a fair deal on 19th September, it ceased to be such when the Assembly was asked to sanction it. Where the factors operating on the value of sterling to which our rupee is linked, are so speculative and uncertain, it is absurd to prepare a balance sheet of profit and loss from the supposed ten per cent preference, as some of our Assembly members have attempted to do. The whole trade of the non-Empire countries has become a gamble in the sterling-dollar exchange, a much more dominating factor than the nicely calculated ten per cent preference of the Ottawa Agreement."

Prof. Chablani said that ninety per cent of Indian exports were free from the restrictive influences of high tariffs in other countries, and the Indian problem therefore, was materially different from that of Great Britain, which suffered from a lack of free markets. Prof. Chablani claimed that the total capacity of the Ottawa Agreement to relieve India of the consequences of high tariffs in other countries, was limited to Rs. 705 lakhs worth of goods Prof. Chablani also asserted that the total preference given to Empire goods was forty-two per cent. He further claimed that Ottawa would not give any higher prices to Indian goods. The growers of wheat, cotton and rice outside the Empire, would throw their goods within the restricted non-Empire markets and would bring down the world prices.

Prof. Chablani also refuted the arguments of Sir George Schuster that the Agreement would meet the malady of the low prices of Indian agricultural products and the menace of an adverse balance of trade in merchandise. Prof. Chablani said that normally India had an unfavourable balance of trade with Great Britain, and the Empire. India, on the other hand, had a favourable balance of trade with non-Empire countries. Would not that be materially affected, he asked, by the restrictive influences of Ottawa tariffs on their purchasing power, or by the probable retaliatory answer to the Ottawa menace to their economic position? Everyone, he said, knew that the position of a country producing raw material and cereals, was exceptionally weak in economic warfare in these days of over-production and accumulation of world stocks.

PROF. KALE'S VIEWS

Prof. Kale felt that they had married in haste, and were likely to repent at leisure. For, as soon as the proposal for an agreement was made, it was accepted. Sufficient opportunity was not afforded to them to examine every aspect of the Pact. He reminded the House that in Europe, there was a movement to make each country self-supporting as far as possible. With this movement India was likely to lose her non-Empire markets, thanks to the policy underlying the Ottawa Pact. The preferences in existence prior to the Pact were not taken into consideration at all. Even the best supporters of the Pact did not know its consequences, far-reaching though they were. But as the Agreement was an established fact, for the present, it was best for them to watch its results and prevent its re-enactment, if circumstances pointed that way.

PROF. VAKIL'S VIEWS

Prof. Vakil asserted that the responsibility of proving that the Agreement was in the best interests of India lay on the members of the delegation and the Government. Neither had discharged the responsibility. Prof. Vakil agreed with Prof. Thomas that trade agreements should be entered into for the material advantage of both the parties. But he doubted if the

agreements would be advocated if the advantages lay on one side alone, for he asserted that the Agreement with the United Kingdom would necessarily result in a loss to India.

Proceeding, Prof. Vakil said that even if it be admitted that had India not entered into an Agreement with the United Kingdom, it would have necessarily resulted in a loss to her, those rsponsible for it should have seen whether there was any other possibility of the loss being made good. Referring to the industrial position, Prof. Vakil remarked that he had enough experience of the industrial policy of the Government and hence he was not sure protection would be granted by the Tariff Board to all the really deserving industries. He pleaded for a revision of the customs schedule. He wanted the reports on the working of the Agreement to be scientifically compiled and made easily available to those whose opinion would be weighty on the subject.

PROF. THOMSON'S VIEWS

Prof. Thomson said that some politicians and statesmen thought that tariff walls in other countries could only be pulled down by erecting tariff walls in their own country. The Ottawa Agreement, he thought, was perhaps a bargaining point and if so, it was, going to be a temporary phase. The Agreement meant that Great Britain desired to sacrifice her own interests for building up industries inside the Empire as under any system of imperial preference, she was bound to lose, because of having greater trade with countries outside the Empire than inside it. If prices under the new arrangement went up, indigenous industries in this country would undoubtedly gain and the probabilities were that they would gain more than British industries.

President's Concluding Remarks

The President, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerji, in winding up the session of the Conference, remarked that the economic situation in the country was to him one of unrelieved gloom. The agricultural depression in the country was unprecedented in its magnitude. While the other countries were making remarkable progress, Indian agriculture remained more or less stationary. On the other hand, the Indian population had increased by ten per cent, which together with the deflationary policy of the Government had increased the burden of the farmer, which was reflected in a phenomenal increase of transfer of land. He advocated a series of measures for mitigating the hardships of the agriculturists, such as, cancellation of old and irrevocable debts, suspension for two or three years of the collection of rent and revenue and temporary restriction of forced sale of land for debts contracted for purely agricultural purposes. Still worse times were ahead, he added, and the year 1933-34 was expected to be the worst of the years, indications of which were visible in the occurrence of famines in certain places. Nor was the trade outlook in the future bright or certain.

In conclusion, the President said: "Manufacturers have gained, but agriculture has lost. It is the old story of the conflict between the urban industrialists and the rural classes wherein the former have always the upper hand. In the coming age, nothing will be more timely and indispensable than a policy of agricultural protectionism in the larger sense of the term, including not merely revision of the land laws and the land revenue policy, but also subordination of the fiscal and currency policies to the needs of the primary producers. Agricultural protectionism ought to be our watchword in the future, in order that we may emerge successfully from the present Agricultural revolution."

BENGAL POSTAL EMPLOYEES

A largely attended meeting of the Postal and R. M. S. Employees of all ranks was held on January 4th at the Postal Club premises, Calcutta. Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.L.A., presided.

Referring to the possibility of the continuance of the 'cut' in salaries, Mr. Mitra observed that as the Secretary of State did not think it proper to raise the question of a cut in the pay of the Covenanted Services in Parliament, the Government of India would find it rather awkward to continue the 'cut' in the salaries of the poorly paid employees. Although Mr. Mitra thought that the Government of India, having a surplus budget, could afford to discontinue the 'cut', Provincial Governments having no such cheerful outlook, might be pressing for the continuance of the cut.

A number of resolutions were then adopted protesting against the continuance of 'cut' in spite of the Finance Member's assurance at the time of its introduction, that it would not go beyond 1933.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

The following is an abstract of a paper on the "System of Ramanuja" by Mr. K A. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., of Bangalore, read at the session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held in Mysore on January 4th:—

There has been a conflict in the world for centuries between Idealism and Realism. The latter has gathered new strength from the advance of Physical Science. In India Sankara's Illusionism had been fought against by Ramanuja and Madhwa and their followers As scientific discoveries have greatly affected many primary concepts of Philosophy and Religion, Hindu realistic system must be re-examined with regard to their basic principles, and Ramanuja's is selected for its philosophic importance.

BRITISH STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

The Council of the National Union of Students and Officers of English and Welsh University Unions discussed the problems affecting the moral, physical and intellectual welfare and progress of Indian students at the various British Universities. For instance, the Conference will debate the question of the participation of Indian students in all forms of athletics, games and social activities of Union Societies and University Unions, the admission of Indian students to University hostels, inspection and registration of lodgings, Indian students' participation in the Officers Training Corps, the effect of the distribution of Indian students among the Universities, the question of the students who are unfit for a University career and, lastly, the possibility of further contact between Indian and British student organisation.

INDIAN INSTITUTION OF ENGINEERS

The 13th annual general meeting of the Institution of Engineers, (India) was held at Bangalore, on January 16th under the presidency of Dr. A. Jardine, D.Sc., M.I.C.E., M.I.E., (India) Director, Messrs. Jessop and Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

The Institution of Engineers, India, came into being on the 30th September, 1920 and was formally inaugurated in February, 1921 by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. The importance of the institution in the advancement of India was fully recognised when the foundation stone of the buildings of the Institute was laid by H. E. Lord Irwin on the 19th December 1930 and the building was formally opened by H. E. Lord Willingdon, on the 28th December, 1931. The Institution is modelled on the lines of the

great Home Institutions of Civil. Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the special feature of the representative character of the institution being that it combines the work of all the 3 above named institutions in one and has therefore, three-fold value. The Institution makes it one of its primary business to see that young engineers receive sound, practical and theoretical training and that the standard of education in engineering colleges and schools is maintained at a high level. The diplomas of M.I.E., and A.M.I.E., are granted by the Institution. The Institution is the Committee in India of the British Engineering Standards' Association and of the International Electro-technical Commission and in the former capacity obtains the considered views of the best engineers in India on draft specifications. There is a representative of the Institution in England, who attends the meetings of the International Electro-technical Commission and he submits reports on important matters deliberated on by that body.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

The urgent necessity of conducting an economic census in order to comprehend the present economic position of India, was stressed by Sir George Schuster at a meeting of the Indian Institute of Economics on January 9th at Calcutta.

National Economic Council

Mr. Naliniranjan Sarkar, President of the Institute, welcoming Sir George Schuster, said that in view of the increasing complexities of India's economic problem, the need for a sort of National Economic Council had, at various times, been suggested. Sir George Schuster himself had pleaded for the establishment of an Economic General Staff, while addressing the Indian Economic Conference in Delhi. The primary aim of the Institute. said Mr. Sarkar, was also the same, and in a sense gave concrete shape to Sir George Schuster's own ideas. The Institute had no affiliation, political, social or otherwise, its sole object being to ascertain facts about the economic problems in a most dispassionate and scientific way.

Sir George Schuster said that the foundation of such an institute, indicating a spontaneous and independent effort, showed that the rising generation were interested in Economics. India stood upon the eve of a new era. As the result of the coming Constitutional changes, India would be more and more a master of her own destiny. He felt that her destiny was one which in prospect exceeded that of any other country in the world. Despite India being a vast country, the standard of living was low, and there was room for improvement. India, so far, had but developed little industrially. He saw great opportunities for development in the future in this connection.

The Finance Member honestly believed, that there was no country in the world which could take advantage of its opportunities so much as India. Some people thought that miraculous changes could be brought about by producing plans and they wished for India something like the Five Year Plan of Russia. But they must remember that it required time for such plans to be developed. One of the greatest difficulties the Government experienced was the absence of co-operation between the Government and the people of this country. They had no statistics as regards internal production. A comprehensive survey of the present economic position of India, was needed and it should be kept up-to-date with the help of the Government and institutes like this. An economic census of this kind was of course large work for a country like India. They had done very little hitherto of such work.

RAILWAY ACCOUNTANTS' CONFERENCE

Sir Ernest Burden, presiding over the fifth annual Conference of the Institute of Railway Accountants and Auditors, held at the Imperial Secretariat, New Delhi, on January 10th dwelt on the necessity of the Accounts and Audit departments regarding themselves as complementary to each other, and as both being essential parts of one section of the machinery of financial control. Each department should, therefore, understand and appreciate the point of view of both, so that they could pool their knowledge and work in unison. This institute could play a useful part for the attainment of this object. Such annual gatherings served as a clearing house of information and enabled them to see larger aspects of the work of the railway accountants and auditors. While desirous of maintaining such annual meetings at the headquarters, the Auditor-General made a tentative suggestion, whereby study circles could be created in the provincial railway centres, and their special problems brought under organised discussions when the Controller of Railway Accounts, the Director of Railway Audit, the Financial Commissioner of Railways or the Auditor-General were on their official tours.

The President referred to the suggestion that the Institute might start a system of examinations, and grant diplomas, which would exempt the holders thereof from examination contemplated by the Indian Accountancy Board. The Auditor-General doubted the practicability of the suggestion, and said that they should do nothing which might have the effect of cutting the line of progress of the Accountancy Board.

Among those present were Sir Guthrie Russell, Chief Commissioner of Railways, Mr. P. R. Rau, Financial Commissioner of Railways, Mr. L. S. Deane, Controller of Railway Accounts, Mr G. Kaula, Mr. T. S. Sankara Aiyar, Director of Finance, Railway Board, Diwan Bahadur R. Sundrachari, Chief Auditor, Railway Clearing Accounts Office, Mr. G. T. Tait, Chief Publicity Officer, Railways, and Mr. I. A. Natesan (Secretary).

AUDIT OFFICERS' CONFERENCE

Mr. C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.L.A., M.A., B.L., in his presidential address at the All-India Accounts and Audit Officers' Conference, held in Calcutta on the 18th and 19th January observed:—

Retrenchment Policy

Gentlemen, during the past year you have been passing through a period of exceptional anxiety and trouble. While on the one hand you have been exposed to the devastating blight of an economic blizzard of unparalleled severity sweeping over the country as over the rest of the world. Retrenchment has, on the other, been busy plying its ruthless shears amongst your ranks, causing no end of misery and hardship to you and your families. You have borne your sufferings with patience and fortitude. In the general dislocation of the country's finances with yawning gaps in the Budget estimates, baffling the genius of the most dexterous Finance Member, you were naturally prepared to bear your humble share of the common burden, but one cannot admire the fairness or sense of justice of those who practically sacrificed you at the altar of symmetry, turning a deaf ear to all your prayers and entreaties for a graduated scale of cut in your salaries according to the amounts of your pay. Nor can one be filled with over-powering gratitude for those who refused to see any iniquity in fixing the lower limit of exemption from the salary cut any higher than Rs. 40 per month. It is no use, however, wasting any words now to

emphasise the cruel wrong which was done in the name of retrenchment to a body of hardworked public servants who surely deserved to be spared such unequal treatment. For was it not said: "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath"! Gentlemen, it has been recently announced that the 10 per cent cut will be partially restored, that is, to the extent of one-half, with effect from the commencement of the 1st of April next. Let us be thankful for small mercies, and be thankful also that the exemption from the income-tax surcharge will be taken off, —some mitigation of the unfair discrimination in favour of the higher paid officers It would probably be regarded as looking at a gift-horse in the mouth, if one had the temerity to suggest that a juster and more equitable mode of relief would have been to restore the cut wholly on smaller salaries up to a certain limit, retaining it as before for those who are better able to bear the burden.

MARRIAGE REFORM CONFERENCE

The first Marriage Reform Conference was held in the B. N. College, Patna, on January 15th.

The presidential address which Mr. Natarajan had prepared for the Conference, and sent was read at the Conference. In the course of his address, Mr. Natarajan said:—"In my opinion, the abolition of child-marriages is the most important marriage reform that India needs. Without it, our best efforts to raise the status of women are bound to be futile."

"So long as we regard the parties to be married as children requiring guidance from parents and elders, we are apt to regard marriages as children's affairs and to insist even on grown up educated men and women conforming to customs meant for children. But the moment we visualise marriage as the free choice between intelligent and responsible men and women, capable of exercising a reasoned judgment on the most important event in life, then at the moment these reforms not only cease to excite opposition, but will come to be regarded as a matter of course.

SARDA ACT CONFERENCE

The Sarda Act Conference was held on February 1st under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, the author of the Act at New Delhi.

A resolution was unanimously passed asking the Government to take steps to amend the law so as to prevent child marriages from being performed in contravention of the Act. The resolution added, that in order to give the country the full benefit of it the Child Marriage Restraint Act should be so amended as to give power to District Magistrates to issue injunctions stopping the performance of marriages which contravened the provisions of the Act.

Mr. Harbilas Sarda said that the Child Marriage Restraint Act was intended to check the evils of early marriages resulting in young girls being widowed. He said that the Act did not provide for checking such child marriages and therefore the provisions needed modification.

INDIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

The annual session of the Punjab Provincial Conference of the Indian Medical Association, met at Lahore on January 30th.

The Conference passed resolutions adopting the recommendations of the Central Executive of the Indian Medical Association on the proposed Indian Medical Council Bill and asking the Government to accept the same,

recommending to the Government to allow a uniform rebate in respect of income-tax on amounts spent by practitioners on the maintenance of telephones and motor cars, etc., for professional work; asking medical men in India to help Indian industries by using, compatibly with efficiency, drugs and appliances of Indian manufacture; urging upon the members of the profession the need for contesting seats in the Central and Provincial Legislatures, with a view to impressing upon the country the great need for preventive medicine, and asking the Government to remove the distinction between temporary and short time British recruits to the I.M.S. as regards pay, furlough and gratuity.

BENGAL PEASANTS' CONFERENCE

An attempt was made on February 18th to hold the All-Bengal Peasants and Tenants Conference at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, under the presidency of Sir Abdur Rahim. The organisers of the Conferencce included prominent Hindus and Moslems of the province.

After the speeches of the President and the Reception Committee Chairman (Mr. J. N. Gupta, ex-Commissioner), the representative character of the Conference was questioned by some of the audience, which necessitated the Conference being dissolved without passing any resolution, to enable the organisers to convene another conference shortly.

In the course of his speech, Sir Abdur Rahim said that from his public utterances, it was apparent that the Bengal Governor felt a great anxiety about the financial condition of the province But even if the province got two or three crores from the jute export duties or otherwise, it would not take the province very far unless a permanent improvement in the condition of the peasantry was effected. If there was to be any attempt to utilise the benefits of the coming Constitution, then the ryots of the province should be organised thoroughly and should be made conscious of their responsibilities. The picture of the next Constitution, as it appeared in the Press, was not free from very considerable difficulties, but there was a blight feature in the widening of the franchise, allowing a large number of representatives of the ryots to come into the legislature.

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

MANCHESTER CHAMBER

THE Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in its annual report issued on January 28 deals with the position of Lancashire exports to India. It declares that in India, the Congress Party had chosen cotton trade as the target for political attacks on England and Indian mill-owners had supported that policy to their own advantage. The over-protection of the Indian mill industry would be to the grave disadvantage of millions of Indian consumers while the continued progressive diminution of imports of British cotton goods would mean the dangerous distortion of India's balance of trade and a serious decline in revenue. Both the British Government and the Chamber of Commerce had refrained from pressing the economic argument for lower duties too strongly in the hope that restraint would facilitate a political settlement. Should the legitimate interests be disregarded in future, Lancashire, says the report, would be forced to use the political weapon and call upon its Parliamentary representatives for action. The British and Indian Governments would only have themselves to thank if their efforts to solve the political problems of India were disrupted by action of that kind on the initiative of Lancashire.

"Lack of Leadership"

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce was, however, criticised by Mr. Kenneth Lee, Chairman, Tootal Broadhurst Lee and Company, in a lecture on the same date on the cotton industry at the Imperial College of Science, London.

Mr. Lee complained that the cotton industry was lacking first-class leaders and as an example of the mentality of the present leaders quoted a resolution passed by the Chamber last month, at a meeting, to consider measures for dealing with Japanese competition.

"This resolution," said Mr. Lee, "meant that our Government should take steps to force India amongst other places to put a high duty against Japanese goods so as to keep them out and give me the market. Those who have studied Indian affairs and know something of the temper of the Indian people, their difficulties and the present poverty will understand what I mean by saying we lack leadership, when it is possible for a resolution like this can be passed by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester. This resolution means that they consider we have a right to exploit the races incomparably worse off than ourselves.

INDIAN CHAMBER

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, in the course of a memorandum dated February 4 to the Government of India (Commerce Department), on the Indian Railways Act Amendment Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly in September last, point out that they are not opposed to the principle of the Bill, namely, granting of permission to Railways to undertake any means of transport other than railway for the conveyance of passengers, animals and goods, but they would be sorry if the Railways started motor services only to compete with private enter-

prise and kill the latter by engaging in a campaign of uneconomic rate cutting. It is necessary therefore that the Government should set up some machinery to prevent uneconomic competition in services and rates. The Rates Tribunal should have powers to fix rates equitably, so that railways and private concerns may not be able by mutual agreement to put up rates.

BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER

The Committee of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce addressed the following letter dated the 14th February to the Government of Bengal expressing their views on the provisions of the Bengal Money-Lenders' Bill introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council by Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, M. L. C.:—

"The Committee of the Chamber have noted that the most important provisions of the Bill are those relating to (i) the compulsory registration of money lenders who are not permanent residents of the district in Bengal in which they may be carrying on their business, nor have permanent domicile therein; (ii) abolition of compound interest; (iii) provision for supply of necessary information to the debtor by the lender regarding loans; (iv) fixation of a maximum rate of interest and the declaration of habitual usury as a penal offence. The Committee fully appreciate the motive inspiring the Bill, seeking, as it does, to put a check to the harsh loans and the unconscionable rates of interest which have spelt disaster to the agriculturists on a wide scale; the inordinate rates of interest have dragged them deep into the mire of indebtedness from which they struggle in vain to extricate themselves. The problem appears to the Committee to be even more serious than its stupendous character might seem to suggest; for it not only affects the largest number of the people of this Province, who, moreover, are the least competent to take care of themselves, but it threatens the future of agricultural development itself of this Province. No effort should be regarded too great for finding an effective solution of this menacing problem. In so far as the problem is ascribable to the prevalence of the usurious practices of money lenders, the present Bill might claim justification particularly in the light of the facts revealed by the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee. As observed in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, the provisions of the Bill are countenanced by, and, as a matter of fact, most of them are based on, specific recommendations of the Provincial Committee, a few of the provisions having parallels even in the laws of such advanced countries as England and Germany.

"But despite its laudable objects, it is well to recognise certain limitations which detract from the value of the present Bill as a practical measure. The problem of agricultural indebtedness involves very complicated issues, as it is due not only to the usurious practices of money lenders but also to such other factors as illiteracy, improvidence and poverty of the agriculturists, lack of adequate credit facilities, etc. All these are important enough to constitute particular problems by themselves and are so closely inter-related that the attempt to tackle any of them in isolation must inevitably be followed by reactions on others. The reactions may prove quite unfavourable and may even outweigh the benefit expected from such efforts. It is the recognition of this manifold character of the problem that led the Central Banking Enquiry Committee to observe that "a real and lasting solution can only be found by the spread of education, the extension of co-operative and joint-stock banking and by the training of the borrower in the habits of thrift and saving." The circumstances thus demand that the problem should be viewed as a whole and tackled, as far as possible, in a

comprehensive manner to achieve the desired object. As any piece-meal efforts are likely to yield results of questionable benefit to the agriculturist debtors, the Committee would suggest that pending the development of more favourable circumstances, the existing legal and administrative machineries should be set to work more efficiently than hitherto to cope with the present situation with such modification as may be considered necessary and practicable. This would not only give a certain measure of relief to the debtors—the maximum that can be provided at present without creating any difficulties—but also yield the experience necessary for the framing of comprehensive scheme at a later stage. The Committee do not unreservedly under-estimate the necessity and efficacy of any piece-meal endeavours, simply on account of the absence of a comprehensive scheme, but they feel that the fragmentary efforts must in any circumstances be tempered according to the facts of the actual situation. The efforts should be regulated by an ordered sequence of measures adopted to keep on the progressive move; otherwise, in the eagerness and anxiety to secure such partial reforms greater harm than good may be done to the people whom it is sought to help. Judging the merits of the present Bill in the light of these considerations, the Committee of the Chamber have found some of the provisions to be fraught with certain serious defects which make it impossible for them to accord unqualified support to the enactment of the Bill.

The following memorandum dated 17th February was submitted to the Government of Bengal by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce :—

Economic Problem of Bengal

The effects of the recent world depression have been most severe in countries which are mainly agricultural. This should be apparent from the much heavier percentage decline in the prices of agricultural staples than in the prices of manufactured goods. To appreciate the relative hardship entailed on them by the present slump in world trade, the distinction must be borne in mind between countries which are mainly agricultural and those which are mainly industrial or have a fair balance between industry and agriculture. In India, as in other agricultural countries, the mass of the people whose mainstay is land have been doubly hit. The price of the crops raised by the agriculturists in this country has fallen to a greater extent than the articles which they require to purchase with the sale proceeds of their surplus crop e.g., clothes, kerosene, salt, etc. The contraction of resources consequent on the decline of prices and particularly, the disparity between the fall in prices of their produce and the fall in the prices of their requirements has caused severe hardship to the agriculturists, making it well-nigh impossible for them to meet their fixed liabilities on account of rent or interest charges on debts.

While this is the plight of agriculturists throughout India, the crisis in Bengal has been intensified by the fact that the Province is mainly dependent on one particular crop, namely, jute, the price of which has fallen to an unprecedented and ruinous level. The loss suffered by Bengal on account of the commercial crops alone seems to be alarming and far greater than what has been suffered by any other province in India, as borne out by Sir George Schuster in his address at the last Indian Economic Conference at Delhi. The Committee realise that the real and permanent solution of the problem arising out of this situation lies mainly in a world recovery of agricultural prices, which is a matter for essentially international action. But still it cannot be gainsaid that the distress in India,

and particularly in Bengal, has been aggravated by some local factors. And in so far as local factors are also at work independent action by the Government in this country would undoubtedly serve to minimise the present distress.

While the recent world depression has thrown the worst features of Bengal's economic position into bold relief and has admittedly aggravated them, the present crisis is none the less ascribable also to other causes of a local nature and longer standing which have been undermining the economic stamina of Bengal for a much longer time. In fact, the Province had at no stage in recent times much of economic stamina with which to resist anything of the nature of an abnormal strain. Such stamina as there was still further lessened, instead of being heightened, by the Meston Award, which by inaugurating a dangerous financial scheme has driven the Province to the point of complete exhaustion. The Award deprived Bengal of the most fruitful sources of revenue and imposed new obligations on this province which by themselves and in comparison with those of other provinces are unquestionably heavy and unfair. The result is that what must pass for a "normal" year is itself a period of acute stringency. The effects of the Award will be best appreciated if it is pointed out that while Bengal is the richest of all the provinces in India, the net resources left to the province, are, as compared with some other provinces of equal status and importance, much poorer in proportion to her population and needs. The people of Bengal get disproportionately small benefit out of the State as compared with the people of other major provinces. The disparity is even more deplorable in respect of the nation-building services in which the Bengalee fares worst among the inhabitants of all the provinces in India, probably with the sole exception of Bihar and Orissa. All developments in Bengal have thus been arrested for a long time and it was almost inevitable that the Province should be threatened by a complete economic collapse with the onset of the present depression.

Plea for Planned Action

These facts emphasise the sad lack of equilibrium between agriculture and industry in Bengal—a situation that has disastrously affected the economic stability of the Province. There are limits to the support which agriculture can provide for the sustenance of the people; and sole or excessive dependence on it constitutes a serious weakness in the economic structure. The few industries, which have been established by the enterprise of the people of the Province, impart little resilience to it. What is necessary in the circumstances to establish economic equilibrium is the launching of a fairly large number of sound industrial concerns protected in all reasonable ways against failure. The need is all the more urgent in view of the fact that in Bengal, unlike other provinces, the people have a smaller share of the economic opportunities of their province provided by industry or trade. Such opportunities as do exist are more or less completely in hands of outsiders. Bengalees have consequently made but a poor response to the opportunities and stimulus afforded by fiscal tariffs on cotton textiles, paper, sugar etc. Bengal is becoming more and more dependent on other Provinces for many of its needs. Therefore, the protective duties borne by this province have virtually become a tax without any compensating advantage. It is not the intention of the Committee to question the necessity of protective tariffs for India's industrial development or to make a grievance of the incidence of these duties; but the Committee only wish to emphasise the fact that effective measures have to be devised in order to enable the Province to take advantage of these tariffs by developing its own industries.

In order to give the Province a start on the path of industrial development we must first break the exclusive agricultural tradition of the people. That cannot be achieved by scattered, unrelated, desultory efforts. The possibilities of unaided private intiative are extremely limited. The capacity and resources of private individuals would hardly suffice to overcome the tremendous obstacles that have to be faced in a period of falling demand, shrinking prices and increasing competition. If, as a consequence of these, some of the initial enterprises were to close down, as indeed they must, far from breaking the tradition and turning the people's attention to industrial development, they would have dealt a serious blow to the industrial progress of the Province in the future.

Besides helping the deserving industries, which are already in existence, the Government should also inquire into the possibilities of opening up new fields of industrial enterprise and provide information regarding the sources of their raw material, the markets for their products, the extent of financial or other assistance required, their prospects and ability to withstand foreign competition The Bengal Department of Industries has offered such services in particular cases but a scheme of more organised efforts, in which the Government should act as a guide rather than as a referee, is needed for the Province The Committee feel that material assistance could be rendered to both existing industries and those that are likely to be started, by giving preference to the former in the stores purchase policy and by assuring to the latter in advance the support of Government custom. A system of purchasing stores for the Government Departments through the Director of Industries might prove distinctly advantageous to the local industries. It is also necessary that the Government should make available to the industries concerned all information which would prevent overcrowding and uneconomic internal competition. Whatever the views of the Government may be, a well-considered policy and a comprehensive plan, such as will enable the various units to work in co-ordination, is required. As far as possible nothing must be left to chance for while success is its own spur-failure will weaken confidence and give a tremendous setback to all enterprise.

There are several industries, for which, it is believed, the necessary raw materials are available in the Province in large quantities, at fairly cheap prices and in proximity to good markets. The Committee of the Chamber are specially impressed with the possibilities of manufacturing many kinds of light machinery, implements and hardware for which Bengal has develpoed an important market. Bengal imports annually, for instance, water pumps and rice-hullers worth several lakhs of rupees. The fact that a small number of firms has started the manufacture of rice-hullers does not lessen the importance of making further efforts in this direction, specially in view of the present volume of their imports. The raw materials for manufacturing such machines are available almost at the door step, and the cost of equipping a medium-sized factory is not so large; Bengal possesses the skilled labour necessary for such factories, and the Committee are of opinion that with an assured market the development of such industries should not present any serious difficulties.

MADRAS CHAMBER

Referring to their requests for imposition of a duty on the rice imported from Burma and Siam into the West Coast Market Sir T. V. Achariar said at the third annual meeting of the Madras Chamber of Commerce held on March 16 that at present Burma formed a portion of India and they had

no authority to place restrictions on Burma rice. They could think about it only if Burma decided to separate from India. Coming to the question of dumping of copra into the West Coast Market from Ceylon he said that recently the Imperial Council of Research of which he happened to be the Vice-President took up this question into consideration. In the course of their inquiry they found that special facilities have been afforded to cocoanut palm growers at Ceylon. Besides they were also engaged in research work. As a first step before making any recommendations to the Government the Imperial Council of Agricuture had decided to appoint a special Officer to study the question on the spot and make his report to the above council. Till his report was submitted they would not be in a position to make any suggestion to the Government with regard to the levy of cess on copra imported into the West Coast Market from Ceylon.

INDIAN CHAMBERS FEDERATION

In the resolutions submitted on March 22 for the next session of the Indian Chambers Federation, important suggestions have been made by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta.

The first resolution recommended for consideration is in regard to the continued outflow of gold from India. The Chamber urges that in view of the huge losses sustained by the country as a result of the unchecked export of gold, steps should be taken forthwith by the Government to put an embargo on the export of gold.

The second resolution urges upon the Government the need for taking early steps for giving effect to the recommendations of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee.

Another resolution recommends the annual compilation of a comprehensive statement of the actual foreign capital invested in India, including private investments, as also of India's foreign investments abroad.

Yet another resolution stresses the necessity for the Government inviting open tenders for the carriage of mails by sea when the present contract expires, and strongly recommends that, in accepting tenders the Government should give preference to an Indian company which broadly satisfies the conditions laid down by the External Capital Committee about registration in India with rupee capital, Indian directorate, training of Indians etc., and which fulfils the conditions suggested by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee about the employment of Indian apprentices.

The working of Port Trusts, also receives attention in a resolution which urges upon the Government the immediate necessity of taking steps to secure greater Indian representation and control in the administration of the various Indian Port Trusts and to ensure their efficient and economic management by a revision of the policy of recruitment and scale of salaries and by the appointment of Indians in the superior Services in larger numbers.

LABOUR

ALL-INDIA RAILWAYMEN'S FEDERATION

THE General Council of the All India Railwaymen's Federation met on February 24 under the chairmanship of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta.

The Council condemned the attitude of the Government in regard to the breach of the terms of the settlement, on the part of the Administration in regard to the M. and S. M. Railway strike. The Council considered that the delay in appointing a conciliation board or court of inquiry was not only opposed to the Whitley Commission's recommendations, but constituted a grave menace to the interests of the workers.

The Council adopted a resolution requesting the Government to release the Meerut prisoners in view of the incarceration already suffered by them for the last four years.

The Council confirmed the disaffiliations of the G. I. P. Railway Workers' Union from the Federation for disruptive conduct.

RAILWAY WORKSHOPS STRIKE

Negotiations, which were being carried on by the Citizens' Committee to bring about a settlement of the strike in the M. and S. M. Railway Workshops broke down completely on January 4.

Union Leaders' Statement

Messrs. Jamnadas Mehta, V. V. Giri, S. Guruswami and G. Krishnamurthi met the members of the Citizens Committee at the office of Mr. F. E. James. Messrs. F E. James, T. S. Ramaswami Aiyer, D. M. Reid, A. J. Leech, C. Natesa Mudaliar and M. A. Muthiah Chettiar were present. After a further discussion, the Union representatives came out and declared that there was no further hope of settlement. They have handed over the following letter to the Chairman and Members of the Citizens Committee:

After these protracted discussions, the position remains what it was, i.e., that the Agent is not prepared to honour the settlement. We trust the Committee realise the extreme gravity of the situation. The men stand by the settlement and are prepared to honour it and they therefore naturally turn to you for making good what was offered to them through you. Everything now depends upon your willingness and ability to see that your own settlement is implemented. Your name was a guarantee to the men of the due performance of the settlement and if the Agent can now defy, with impunity, the settlement reached through your intervention, the shock to the public conscience can well be imagined. If the Agent is allowed to have his own way without effective intervention by you, the thousands of poor families who relied on you, will have been betrayed.

Citizens' Committee's Statement

The Citizens' Committee issued the following statement:—

The Committee desire to state that the circumstances of the Hubli surplus and the replacement of a certain number of men at Arkonam were

placed before them by the Agent of the Railway at the very outset of their enquiry. After discussion at many meetings, the Committee understood that the Union representatives had accepted the position as stated by the Agent, and subsequent discussions were concentrated on the questions of short time, the alleged victimisation of certain individuals and the reinstatement of the 93 men retrenched in 1931. Later on, the issues narrowed down to the question of the alleged victimisation of certain workers, and during the final stages of the negotiations the situation at Arkonam and Hubli was not included in the discussions with the Union representatives, as it was definitely understood by the Committee that they had been "taken out of the picture" for the purpose of negotiation. The Agent had carefully explained to the Committee that he agreed to the final terms only on condition that the position at Arkonam and Hubli was accepted. There was therefore no misunderstanding between the Committee and the Agent on this point, and whatever misunderstanding there might have been was between the Committee and the Union, reference to which will be made later. In the meantime, the Committee desire to state that there has been no breach of the settlement on the part of the Agent, and the charges which have been levelled against him have only resulted in making the settlement of the outstanding issues more difficult.

When apprised of the reasons for the delay in the resumption of work by the men, those members of the Committee who were then in Madras immediately got into touch with the Union representatives. They explained that they would take up the question of Arkonam and Hubli on the return to Madras of the absent members of the Committee and strongly advised the Union to allow the men to return to work in the meantime. They further offered their services to the Union in connection with Arkonam and Hubli, pending the return from Rangoon of the Chairman of the Committee. The Union, however, did not advise the men to return and negotiations were held up until January 2nd.

THE RAILWAYMEN'S CONVENTION

The Convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation concluded its session on February 28 after passing resolutions relating to the wage cut and the adverse effect of the new classification of railway employees on their wages and leave privileges.

The Convention also passed resolutions protesting against the recent orders refusing acting allowance to employees in leave vacancies not exceeding six weeks, against the devaluation of posts without reducing responsibility, against the reported threatened reduction of salaries and grades without consulting the Railwaymen's Federation, against the proposal to constitute a Statutory Railway Board and against reduction in the number of holidays in the E. B. Railway.

The Convention further resolved to decide on consultations between Trade Union Congress and the National Federation of Labour, on the question of sending a Labour Delegation to England for the purpose of placing the case of Labour before the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

RAILWAYS

RAILWAY ECONOMY

IT was announced on January 3 that Mr. G. A. Pope, Railway Economy Expert, will enquire into the working of the G. I. P. Railway, with a view to finding out what economies can be effected without impairing its efficiency.

Mr. Pope is assisted by a committee consisting of Mr. R. C. Case, Assistant Transportation Superintendent (Power), Mr. J. Bell and Mr. T. R. Trimming (East Indian Railway), and another officer of the North Western Railway.

STATE RAILWAYS WORKSHOPS

The Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly approved on January 6 of the Railway Board's proposal for additions to the permanent cadre of three railways, (viz., E. I., N. W. and Burma Railways) involving an expenditure of Rs. 1,00,800 per annum. The details of the scheme show that the idea is to add one administrative and one senior scale post (Superintendent, Mechanical Workshops, and Chemist respectively) to the permanent cadre of the Lower Gazetted Service, and to retain one Production Engineer's post in the senior scale as a temporary measure.

The Financial Commissioner, in explaining the proposal, referred to the urgent necessity for modernising the methods in the mechanical workshops of the Indian State Railways, which was emphasised by the State Railways Workshops Committee in 1926. He further argued that the rise in labour rates that had taken place since the War, justified greater expenditure on methods of organisation, which tended to increase the efficiency of the individual worker. He added, "It is only possible to introduce these new methods successfully by increasing the supervising staff, and having specialist supervision. Western countries have made much greater progress in this sphere than India, and it is necessary, in the first instance, to obtain specialist officers from the workshops in which these systems have been developed. In course of time, such specialist officers will not be required, as the junior officers appointed to the workshops will generally receive part of the training in the modern production methods. In taking action on the recommendations of the Raven Committee, the Railway Board decided not to make any permanent changes in organisation, but to create the necessary posts as a temporary and experimental measure, in order to see whether the new organisation was justified by results. But in view of the good results obtained and in the interests of efficiency and economy, the Board found it necessary to provide them in the permanent scale."

ROAD-RAILWAY COMPETITION

The importance of co-ordination between Road and Railway Transport and the need for a Central Board of Communications with provincial and divisional counterparts are emphasised in the report published on February

7 of Mr. K. G. Mitchell, Road Engineer, with the Government of India, and Mr. L. H. Kirkness, Officer on special duty with the Railway Board.

Mitchell-Kirkness Report

The following is the official summary of conclusions appended to the Report:

(1) We have attempted a general review of the existing system of communications as a background for our report.

(2) The development of the metalled road system has been from the trunks outwards. Trunk, main and feeder metalled roads have frequently been overtaken by the subsequent construction of a parallel railway. A skeleton survey should show the extent to which the present railway mesh satisfies present needs and further road development is likely to be so overtaken.

(3) We have prepared provincial maps to illustrate the salient features brought out in our enquiry and have thereon, in particular, drawn attention to the areas "commanded" by railways in country having a density of population of 100 and over, and we think that, in general, railway development may have reached a stage approaching saturation for existing conditions of agriculture.

(4) We submit a statistical picture of existing communications showing that, excluding Madras, 30 per cent of metalled roads in India are parallel with railways while 48 per cent of railways have metalled roads parallel with them and within ten miles. In certain provinces, less than one-third of the whole area having a density of 100 per square mile and over is "un-commanded" by railways. Generally in those areas there are about 20 or 30 square miles of area for every mile of railway, and from 4½ square miles in Madras up to about 20 square miles elsewhere per mile of motorable road; while, if all roads in charge of public authority are taken into account, there would, excluding the Central Provinces, be from 1-8 square miles to 5 square miles per mile of road; thus the general improvement of all roads nominally maintained by public authority would bring facilities within closer reach of all.

(5) We think that any comprehensive plan of road development should take into consideration the possibility of linking the more important villages with the public road system.

(6) We feel that the road system in India has now become somewhat unbalanced owing partly to the large expansion in the other activities of the local bodies which has outrun the increase of their resources and has resulted in neglect of local roads; partly to the classification of roads, limiting the provincial purview to trunk and main roads; so that recent development and regular maintenance has been preponderantly in the field of provincial roads. We believe that, in order to restore the balance, a comprehensive plan will be necessary, but that the question of adequate provision for future maintenance should first be put on a proper footing.

(7) In addition to the case put forward on behalf of the railways we draw attention to that put forward by the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association.

Control and Regulation of Public Transport

(1) There is considerable difference in the degree of external control over railways and road transport respectively. There appear to be grounds for considering that motor transport has temporarily outrun the machinery for its control.

(2) We draw attention to the main complaints of the railways in respect of discriminatory regulation of the two forms of transport.

(3) It appears that, apart from its probable effect upon railways, public opinion would support some tightening of the control of motor transport in order to give the public a more convenient, safer and more reliable service.

(4) The evils from which public service motor transport is suffering are largely due to excessive competition, unemployment among buses, and their concentration on the more populous routes. The number of licences for buses on any route might be restricted; the issue of time-tables, publication of schedules of fares and compulsory insurance might be prescribed. Such control would raise the business to a better and more economic condition.

(5) While competitive rates of fare are at present substantially lower, the economic fare for the ordinary rural bus appears to be about 5 pies per passenger mile.

(6) Competition may increase in range and intensity. Motor buses are a great convenience to the public and where they are definitely superior, we do not think that the public can be deprived of them. Where, however, they are not so greatly superior we doubt the wisdom of paying for dual facilities causing inroads into railway revenues. A system of zoning of motor transport on parallel competitive routes within a range of about 50 miles might be considered. We do not think that this would seriously affect present business, or substantially reduce the losses of railways. It would, however, localise competition to what appears to be the appropriate field of motor transport.

(7) Road authorities, registration authorities, taxation authorities, and railways are all interested in statistics regarding commercial motor transport. These authorities at present often work independently; duplication of work would be avoided and proper statistics would be available if the traffic authority kept and published such statistics.

(8) Adequate control of motor transport would require study and cooperation between various authorities. A civil district appears to be too small an area for this. Control by areas equivalent to a Commissioner's Division with the advice of small representative committees would be convenient and economical.

Railways and Motor Competition

(1) In the face of a possible increase of competition from motor transport three courses are open to railways:—

(i) Inaction within the zone allotted to motor transport,

(ii) Counter-competition, and

(iii) the operation of motor transport by the railways.

So large proportion of railway earnings comes from third-class passengers within the zone 1 to 50 miles that railways would not lightly consent to entire loss of traffic within that zone. Zoning of motor transport may be controversial and cannot be expected to afford railways full protection.

Counter-competition is costing money, and in certain cases apparently out of proportion to the probable return and to the capital invested in the competitive buses.

For these reasons the solution in many cases may lie in the railways themselves operating motor transport on parallel roads. Railways would have to be protected from uneconomic competition from other concerns.

There are, of course, objections to railways going on the roads, but in view of the amount of public capital invested in railways it is arguable that

where the railways, and particularly light railways, having developed a route cannot offer on the railway the facilities which motor transport affords, they should at least have the option of doing so on the roads.

Taxation of Motors and Obligations of Railways

(1) There is considerable criticism of present taxation of motor transport.

(2) There are great difficulties in the way of estimating the total present contributions of motor transport through various taxes.

(3) We have however, attempted a rough calculation and it seems that motor transport as a whole is at present contributing about Rs. 8 30 crores in Central, provincial and local taxes and fees.

(4) On the basis of petrol consumption and assuming that about 60 per cent of the transport uses extra-municipal roads the contribution by extra-municipal motor transport in eight Governor's provinces through various taxes would appear to amount to about Rs. 360 lakhs against an annual expenditure of Rs. 167 lakhs for original works and an increase in the maintenance bill since 1923-24 of Rs. 90 lakhs. But we cannot suggest to what extent the latter figure represents the increase due to the advent of motor transport.

(5) Turning to commercial transport only, it seems that in 7 provinces this is now contributing over Rs. 2¼ crores, the increase in the maintenance bill since motor buses became common having been Rs. 55 32 lakhs. But we do not think that this represents the real increase in the cost of maintenance nor could we say what proportion should be set against commercial transport.

(6) We consider that for the future it should be possible to make a more accurate estimate of the extent to which motor transport might contribute to the road bill.

(7) The independent taxation of motor transport by different authorities appears to be unsatisfactory and the action of one may bring into force the law of diminishing returns in respect of the revenues of all

(8) Taxes paid by motor transport might be considered as covering four elements, and even if taxes within a province are consolidated into one, there are already a sufficient number of forms of assessment to allow of scientifically graded schedules.

(9) We do not think that substantial additional contributions to the road bill can be looked for from other road beneficiaries although local contributions for schemes of village road development might be forthcoming.

(10) We have endeavoured to show the tax element in the cost of operating rural bus services and this appears to vary between 16 and 21 per cent except in the case of Madras where it may amount to 30 or 40 per cent.

(11) We have also shown the obligation of the railways for the provision and maintenance of their track and in contribution to Central revenues.

RAILWAYS ACT AMENDMENT BILL

The Select Committee's report dated March 24 on the Bill amending the Railway Act says:—

The Bill as amended by us is based on three main decisions of principle. We propose to discuss these decisions first, and then indicate how the Bill carries them into effect.

Our first decision was that the new powers proposed to be conferred by this Bill should be restricted to motor transport and Air Services, and

that there is no case for allowing railways to establish inland waterways services other than the services they are already empowered to run under Section 51 of the main Act. We are agreed however, that the power to provide for transport for the reasonable convenience of passengers, animals or goods carried or to be carried on a railway, as at present conferred under clause (e) of that section must be maintained in public interests. These two objects can not be achieved conveniently by an amendment of clause (e), and we think they will be best secured by a new section dealing exclusively with the proposed new powers.

Secondly, we discussed at length the means for securing local opinion which should be consulted before any railway company is allowed to start a new motor or Air Service. We cannot in the Bill require the local railway advisory committees to be consulted, as these bodies have no statutory existence, and on some railways have no existence at all. To introduce local authorities might create confusion, as the structure and terminology of local self-government varies so much from province to province. In these circumstances, we are agreed that the most elastic method will be to require the Governor-General in Council to consult the Local Governments concerned before any scheme is sanctioned, and we have no doubt that the Local Governments will consult the local authorities interested in the scheme and pay due consideration to all local interests.

In accordance with these decisions, Clause two of the Bill has been entirely recast by us. Instead of amending the clause (e) of Section 51, we propose to insert a new Section 51-A, consisting of five sub-sections.

Sub-section (1) empowers a railway company (other than guaranteed companies) to frame a scheme for motor transport or Air service and imposes one limiting condition, namely, that the service must have one terminus at or near a station on the railway. Under sub-section (2), this scheme is to be submitted to the Governor-General in Council who is required to consult the Local Governments concerned and is empowered to impose any modifications and conditions he may think fit. Sub-section (3) requires the final scheme to be published in the "Gazette of India" for the information of all concerned and empowers the railway company to inaugurate the new service in accordance with its terms and in accordance with all applicable enactments and rules. Sub-section (4) is intended to place the railway company in operating any such service, on level terms with any company, firm or individual operating a like service. This provision will give the railway company no advantage and does not impose on it any disadvantage, as compared with private enterprise. The sub section also safeguards the powers of Local Governments in respect of the regulation of the use of roads.

INDIAN STATES

BARODA

Property Rights of Women

WHEN the discussion on the report on the property right of women took place on January 22 at the Baroda State Legislative Assembly, the House rejected by 11 votes to 6, recommendation No. 6 which provided that the right of maintenance of a wife should be a charge on the husband's property and she should have a right of challenging alienation as made without lawful consideration or not, for family purposes or legal necessity.

The clause dealing with the rights of a widow which was next taken up evoked a lively debate and was finally carried. It was laid down that a widow should inherit (1) the self-acquired property and (2) the interest in the joint family property of her husband along with her sons if any and also when there are none; have a right to demand partition at will and get her share separated equal to one of her sons if any and if not to what her husband would have got if alive, to hold in absolute ownership to the extent of Rs. 12,000 and the excess in limited ownership, the property remaining undisposed on demise reverting to the heirs of her husband.

Social Legislation

The State Legislative Assembly considered on January 24 the draft of the Bill to amend the Hindu Succession Act and the Hindu Joint Family Act introduced by Mr. V. K. Dhurandhar, the Legal Remembrancer, for its first reading before the House. It aims at taking away the right of illegitimate sons among the Shudra to inherit the property of their deceased father, a practice sanctioned by law in several lower castes.

The legal remembrancer explained that the measure was permissive and a person was at liberty to marry any where outside the limit imposed. If the restrictions could be relaxed, without violating the fundamental principles of eugenics or religion in its true sense he saw no reason why such a freedom should not be granted to the society and the law brought in harmony with existing conditions of life. The amendment that was moved was lost. The original motion was put to vote and declared carried.

STATES AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

New Relationship Established

The following communique dated March 20 was issued:—

With previous approval of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the Government of India have decided, with effect from April 1, 1933, that Indian States, whose political relations at present are conducted through Governments of Bombay, Bihar and Orissa and Central Provinces, be brought into political relations with the Government of India as follows:—(1) States including Wadi Estate, situated to the South of Bombay, will be in relations with the Government of India through a Resident, second class, designated "Agent to the Governor-General for Deccan States and the Resident at

Kolhapur" with headquarters at Kolhapur. Lieutenant-Colonel H. Wilberforce Bell, at present Resident, Kolhapur, has been appointed to hold charge of this Agency.

(2) States and Estates, excluding those States and Estates in Mahi, Kantha, Dangs and Khairpur State, and situated to the North of Bombay will be in relations with the Government of India through a Resident, second class, designated "Agent to the Governor-General, Gujarat States Agency and the Resident at Baroda" with headquarters at Baroda. Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. R. Weir, at present Resident in Baroda, has been appointed to hold charge of this Agency.

(3) States and Estates, excluding Danta State in Mahi Kantha, will be in relations with the Government of India through an Agent to the Governor-General in States of Western India, and Rajkot, Palanpur State from Western India States Agency and Danta State from Mahi Kantha will be in relations with the Government of India through an Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana and attached to the Jaipur Residency in Rajputana as a temporary measure. Dangs will continue to be under the Bombay Government pending further orders. Khairpur State will be in relations with the Government of India through an Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States.

(4) States in Bihar and Orissa and those in Central Provinces, excluding Makrai, will be in relations with the Government of India through a Resident, second class, designated "Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States Agency" with headquarters at Ranchi. Mr. E. C. Gibson, I. C. S., Political Department, Government of India, has been appointed to hold charge of this Agency.

PRINCES AND FEDERATION

Eighteen conditions-precedent were submitted on March 29 by the Princes to His Majesty's Government for joining the Federation. They would examine any future constitution from this standard.

The Princes' memorandum says:—

(1) Any amendment to the Constitution shall, for the purpose of its introduction, require in the first instance, a two-thirds majority of the House in which it is being introduced, and will only become law after separate ratification and acceptance by three-fourths of the Indian States represented in the Federal Legislature, and by three-fourths of the members representing British India, and provided that no alteration affecting the following matters shall be deemed valid without the consent of the State concerned:

(a) Sovereign autonomy of the States; (b) the representation allotted to any State in the Upper House; (c) minimum representation to any State in the Lower House; (d) alterations of territorial limits of a State; and (e) addition to the list of Federal subjects.

The Statutory and constitutional guarantees provided for shall be unalterable except with the consent of each Federating State.

(2) The Federal Government will have no concern with the form of the Government in the States, and the method of selecting representatives of the Indian States to the Federal Legislature.

(3) In the event of a Federating State refusing or otherwise failing to discharge its Federal obligations, the Federal Government shall, wherever possible, invoke the good offices of the Confederation. If this procedure in any particular instance is not found feasible, the Federal Government will, in the last resort, deal with the State through the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown.

(4) On a representation made at least by two-thirds of the representatives of the States in the Federal Legislatures in regard to any Bill passed by the Legislature, that such legislation contravenes the guarantees contained in the Constitution, such legislation shall not have the force of law pending the decision of such authority as may be competent to decide on its validity.

(5) Through some suitable method of augmentation or otherwise, it should be secured that the comparative influence of the States in the control of Federal matters is not too far whittled down if only a majority and not the entire body of States join the Federation.

(6) There shall be absolute guarantee for the connection of India with the British Crown.

(7) There shall be no discriminatory legislation against any of the Federating States or the subjects of any such States.

(8) The States shall enter the Federation by means of treaties made with the Crown and the provisions of these treaties shall be outside the operation of Parliamentary or Federal legislation. These treaties may provide special safeguards for the particular interests of individual States and will admit ot reservations being made by any State that may so desire.

(9) (a) The appellate jurisdiction of the Federal Court shall not extend over the Courts of Indian States. Questions arising out of the constitution or relating to the interpretation of Federal laws in issue before State-Courts, shall be referred for opinion to the Federal Court and the State-Courts shall give their decisions on the points referred to in accordance with the opinion of the Federal Court.

(b) The Federal Court shall be constituted by delegation of authority from the Crown and from the Rulers of the Federating States.

(c) An appeal can lie to the Privy Council in England from the decisions of the Federal Court provided that a suitable constitutional formula could be devised which would not detract from the sovereignty of the Federating State.

(d) The Federal Court which would derive its jurisdiction with regard to the States from the States concerned, should interpret the constitution strictly, so as not to extend the orbit of the Federal Government beyond the subjects and powers expressly delegated to it by the constitution.

(10) No existing right or dispute concerning rights affecting any particular State of a justiciable character, will be prejudiced by the mere fact of its entry into Federation. The fact that the Government of India have rejected the case or have refused to the point of view of the States, shall not be treated as sufficient cause for creating the case as closed.

(11) Reference to the administration of individual States in regard to non-federal matters or against individual rulers or Governments of States shall not come within the purview of the Federal Legislature.

(12) No executive or legislative action shall be lawful within the territories of the Indian State, unless it proceeds directly or indirectly from the authority of the Government of the State concerned or of the Federal Government in matters delegated to it and within the specific limits of such delegation.

(13) Federal laws should not apply *proprio vigore* to Indian States, but the States should accept and pass federal laws as State laws and such laws should operate as State laws within the territories of the States from the date on which they are enforced by the federal Government, provided that—

(a) With regard to certain subjects like Federal Taxation in which it is essential that legislation should take effect as soon as it is passed, the laws passed by the Federal Legislature shall be presumed to have been enacted,

by the State concerned from the date they are enforced by the Federal Government.

(b) All Federal laws on subjects and within the powers delegated to the Federal Government, after the expiry of a certain specific period, shall be presumed to have been enacted within the territories of the States as State laws.

(c) That the servants of the Federal Government, in the course of the performance of their legitimate duty within the territories of the Indian States, will, as now, continue to be subject to the Federal law from the date they are enforced by the Federal Government. This does not mean that they will cease to be subject to the internal sovereignty and laws of the State concerned in matters not specifically delegated to the Federal Government.

(d) That the individual States need not enact laws which have no application whatsoever to their respective territories.

(e) All amendments of the Federal laws in their application to a particular State to suit special local conditions, will be subject to the previous assent of the Federal Government.

(14) The powers of concurrent legislation in matters not solely reserved to the Federal Government shall remain with the States, provided that Federal legislation shall override State legislation in regard to all Federal subjects.

(15) The Crown shall be required to incorporate provisions in the constitution retaining power and sanction for itself to secure respect for treaties which have been declared by the King Emperor as inviolate and inviolable and to see that the obligations and agreements contracted by both the parties, namely the States and the Crown, are not encroached upon by the Federal Executive or Legislature and are not varied or abrogated without free consent of both the parties.

(16) The Constitution shall provide, by the insertion of a separate clause, that no unfriendly Act shall be permitted by one federating unit against another and that there shall be no interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of any State.

(17) No restrictions which are not in accordance with the specific terms of their treaties, are imposed on the States in regard to the number and equipment of their armies.

(18) The constitution shall make provision for the States joining Federation collectively through a confederation, but it shall be permissible for such as may so desire to join the Federation individually.

SITUATION IN ALWAR

Durbar's Statement

The Durbar issued a lengthy communique dated February 17 giving details of the circumstances under which Raja Ghazanfar Ali vacated the office of Revenue Minister of the State and how requisition was made by His Highness' Government for the services of a British Indian Civil Service Officer as Revenue Minister which automatically terminated the Raja's services.

Prime Minister's Resignation

Referring to the reported resignation of the Prime Minister, His Highness' Government strongly deprecated sensational reports in newspapers and states that the question of the Prime Minister's resignation or dispensing with his services never arose nor discussed either in correspondence or any conversation.

Voluntary Exile

His Highness emphatically contradicted the statement published in some papers from time to time that he was contemplating going on " Banprastha " which translated means voluntary exile. There was no truth in this statement whatsoever. The communique characterised the report published in a Lahore paper that three hundred people have been killed in the Govindgarh incident as wrong. His Highness' Government deplored the communal touch given to the proposed commission of enquiry which is entirely an agrarian question.

Free Fight Among Meos

Renewed activities on the part of Meos were reported on February 19th from a village about seven miles from Alwar whre a clash took place between a section of loyal Meos and a party of Meo agitators, who demanded subscriptions. A free fight ensued resulting in about ten receiving injuries. Both the rival parties are said to have instituted cases against one another. An incident of looting and incendiarism was reported from village Sahappura near Kishengarh. Property worth about seventy thousand rupees was said to have been looted. It is reported that owing to this untoward happening armoured cars which returned to Delhi were against requisitioned.

Mr. Lothian to Act as Prime Minister

Mr. Lothian on February 23 took over charge as the Acting Prime Minister and Captain Ibbotson proceeded to Ramgarh. Gradual withdrawal of troops commenced.

Captain Ibbotson

It was officially stated on February 23rd that Captain Ibbotson was appointed with full powers of control over all the departments in that area so that he may take all measures necessary to restore confidence in the administration. He will also be vested with full powers to enquire into the past disturbances and general grievances in this area and will prepare a report in due course giving his recommendations for permanent measures of reforms, that may be necessary.

Relief to State Subjects

The Secretary of the Alwar State Information Bureau issued the following statement dated March 19th :—

The following conscessions have been announced by Captain A. W. Ibbotson, Special Commissioner, Alwar State at Kishangarh, to take effect from 15th March in the four Nizamats of Tijara, Kishangarh, Ramgarh and Luchmangarh.

Octroi and Bighori have been temporarily suspended.

Export customs duties on agricultural produce have also been temporarily suspended and those on 'ghee' and cattle reduced to Re. 1 per maund and Re. 1 per animal.

Grazing taxes have also been temporarily suspended.

The sale of Bunjar land will not be proceeded with and further collections of amount due on such sales will be suspended temporarily, pending consideration of the whole matter.

FISCAL

PROTECTION FOR SILK INDUSTRY

THE Government of Mysore, through the Department of Industries and Commerce, sent on January 16, a memorandum to the Tariff Board on the Sericulture Industry of the State.

The Memorandum sets out clearly the economic importance of the Industry in the State. The Silk Industry has been in existence in Mysore for over a century and is practised in the Districts of Bangalore, Mysore, Tumkur and Kolar in about 3,000 villages out of 19,000 villages in the State. Sericulture is the largest and most important cottage industry in the State.

PROTECTION FOR SUGAR CANDY

A deputation of the Sugar Candy Association led by R. M. Chinoy, M. L. A., waited on February 22 on Sir Joseph Bhore, Commerce Member, Government of India, in order to urge for the imposition of a protective duty on all foreign sugar candy with a view to save the Indian industry from Japanese dumping.

In the memorandum, the deputationists asserted that the importation of Japanese sugar candy ultimately led to proportionate reduction in the import of white crystalline sugar, thereby diminishing in equal proportion Government customs revenue because small sugar candy factories working in India and importing white sugar for that purpose would be stopped entirely. These Indian factories will not be able with the limited resources at their command to meet the unfair competition of Japan and thus the old village industry of India will be crushed if immediate relief, was not granted by the Government in the manner desired by the trade. The deputationists further explained that out of a bag consisting of two cwts. of white sugar, $1\frac{7}{8}$ cwt. (equal to one maund) is invisible loss which occurs in the process of manufacture. In the whole of India, annually 15,00,000 bags of white sugar were consumed for the purpose of manufacturing sugar candy. At this rate therefore 375,000 cwts of sugar is imported extra for this invisible loss. If instead only Japanese sugar candy was imported and no steps were taken to stop the dumping of Japanese sugar candy, the result would be that nearly 375,000 cwts of sugar less will be imported into India than otherwise, if dumping was entirely stopped.

DUTY ON RAW FILMS

At a largely attended meeting held on January 22 at the Shivaji Mandir, Poona, Mr. N. C. Kelkar presiding, the following resolutions were adopted.

This public meeting of the citizens of Poona, one of the most important producing centres of the Indian film industry, urges strongly upon the Government of India the necessity of giving encouragement to the young Indian film industry by removing the import duty on raw cinema films as recommended by the Cinematograph Committee in the year 1927-28.

"This meeting earnestly requests all the members of the Central Legislature to support the resolution regarding the removal of duty on raw cinema films, of which notice has been given by Mr. B. V. Jadhav.

"This meeting records its appreciation of the work done for the film industry by the Motion Picture Society of India during the last few months, and requests it to continue its efforts on behalf of the industry."

Mr. N. C. Kelkar's Interview with Commerce Member

Mr. N. C. Kelkar saw on January 31 Sir Joseph Bhore, Commerce Member, in connection with the above resolution. The difficulties under which the film industry in India is suffering from were placed before the Commerce Member and Mr. Kelkar urged that the industry deserved all possible support from the Government of India. The Commerce Member, gave a patient hearing and promised to consider the matter. The Member further showed a willingness to receive again a deputation from the industry.

COTTON INDUSTRY PROTECTION BILL

The Cotton Industry Extension of Protection Bill was passed by the Assembly on March 20.

Sir Joseph Bhore moved for consideration of the Bill to amend the Cotton Textile Protection Act of 1930 which provided protective duties for three years against foreign competition to give shelter to the Indian mill industry. The present Act expires on March 31 and the Bill seeks extension till the end of October pending full consideration of the Tariff Board report which was received later than Government had hoped. Sir Joseph did not want to discuss the policy and principle at present.

Bengal's Protest Against Protection

Mr. Satyen Mitra protesting on behalf of Bengal consumers vigorously attacked the extension of protective duty even for seven months without giving any reason whatsoever. The Government knew that the Act of 1930 would expire on March 31 and why then did Government not start the Tariff Board enquiry earlier ? He was in favour of giving protection to the nascent industries but wanted to know how long the textile industries were getting protection and what dividends the Bombay, Ahmedabad and Northern India mills had declared and for how long more they would want protection ? After food, clothing was a vital necessity and the people's purchasing power had gone very long. He did not anticipate the Tariff Board's report but he heard that it had recommended further protection. Coming from Bengal where jute and grains prices have gone down by 50 or 60 per cent, Mr. Mitra strongly opposed continued taxation which heavily injured people's buying capacity which was already on the lowest level.

Mr. Mody explained at great length the plight of the textile industry due to depression and said that due to foreign competition the mills were thinking of reduction in wages and short time. Large stocks have been accumulated in all centres and the machinery was at a standstill and 20 per cent output was curtailed. He said the textile industry was not confined to Bombay alone but all over the country. He repudiated the charges of inefficiency and lack of foresight against the mill-owners and claimed that the Noyce Committee report was a certificate to their efficiency. He asserted that the interest of consumers had not suffered and quoted opinions of foreign deputations who paid tributes to the biggest national industry.

No Discussion

Replying to the debate Sir Joseph Bhore refused to discuss the principle and policy involved in the protection of textile industry or the merits of

this particular measure which was entirely inevitable on Goxernment's part.

SALT IMPORT DUTY

Sir George Schuster moving on March 23rd the Salt Additional Import Duty Extending Bill said the salt policy of the Government was to meet the desire of the Indian people that India should be made self-supporting in regard to her salt requirements.

Bengal's Position

Mr. C. C. Biswas made a strong case for Bengal against the continuance of additional duty on salt and inquired whether it was justified any longer to ask Bengal to bear the addition duty in view of the fact that the object of the salt policy was defeated as Khewra could not be expected within a reasonable distance of time to compete with foreign salt. He pointed out that the attempt to stabilise the price of salt at a high level when the prices of other commodities were low and unstabilised would hit hard the consumers of Bengal. Mr. Biswas appealed for abolition of the duty of salt and held that it would be wrong to give any longer preference to Aden which had shown grand-motherly affection.

Bill Supported

Mr. Jadhav was afraid any relaxation in the protective policy might result in the manufacturing provinces being glutted with foreign stuff. He described Bengal's peculiar taste for fine Liverpool salt as the root cause of the whole trouble which was hotly contradicted by Mr. Satyen Mitra who read extensively from the Report of the Tariff Board and evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1853 by the then Home Secretary of India showing that Bengal was not allowed to manufacture salt which she used to do extensively and not a grain of foreign salt would be imported if the restriction was withdrawn. He supported the Bill as it would serve the main purpose namely stabilisation of prices and avoidance of fluctuations which used sometime to vary from Rs. 58 to Rs. 125.

Finance Member's Reply

Sir George Schuster replying said that the main object of stabilising price and avoiding fluctuations was attained. He explained the difficulty in giving effect to the recommendations of the Tariff Board which made it clear in the early part of the report that there was no case for protection to be given to Aden or Indian sources and at the same time their recommendation in effect was like providing protection. Government introduced a balancing scheme of stabilising the price from going too high or falling too low. He pointed out that in view of the fact that the prices of commodities had gone so low that it would be a real burden to the consumer it the duty were not reduced. So steps had been taken to reduce the price level from Rs. 66 per hundred maunds to Rs. 55. If the present duty were found not in the interest of Indian industry the policy would have to be reconsidered after twelve months.

Sir George Schuster said that the Government attitude was against the amendment which was lost.

Mr. Morgan's next amendment seeking reduction of duty on Liverpool salt also met with the same fate.

The second reading of the Bill was then passed.

INDIAN COTTON FOR LANCASHIRE

Cotton Trade League

A further step in the unofficial movement to secure protection for the Lancashire cotton trade from Japanese competition was taken at Manchester at a meeting of the representatives of all sections of the industry. A resolution was passed at a meeting calling upon the Government to take prompt and energetic steps to secure that in India, Colonies and dependencies no import duties except for revenue purposes are placed on British goods and that the duties should be imposed on foreign goods to such an amount as to secure British products fair competition. The foregoing measures should be associated with adequate arrangements for inter-Empire preferential trading.

SUGAR INDUSTRY

In the course of a long communication dated March 17th to the Government of India, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, the Secretary, Indian Sugar Mills' Association, disputed the Finance Member's statement that the present rate of duty on imported sugar is substantially higher than the maximum protective duty recommended by the Tariff Board. Disputing the statement, Mr. Gandhi avers that the C. I. F. price of foreign sugar has considerably fallen since the publication of the Tariff Report, the present landed price being Rs. 6-9 per maund, i.e., 7 annas less than the basis taken by the Tariff Board. He adds that although the Tariff Board assumed that it would be unsafe to count on higher prices on molasses than Re. 1-8 per maund the experience of Indian factories had now actually shown that that price was Re. 1-12 per maund. It is now impossible to realise even 4 annas difference, as molasses produced by Indian sugar factories suffer from excess of production and competition and as there is an absence of use for the same. The C I. F. price of foreign sugar is thus 7 annas less while Indian factories realise about 10 annas less per maund due to tremendous fall in the price of molasses, production of molasses being four per cent of the cane as compared with production of sugar which works out at Re. 1-1 per maund. A surcharge of Re. 1-13 per cwt. on protective import duty of Rs. 7-4 per cwt. works out to Re. 1-5-3 per maund the real difference thus being no more than 4 annas per maund of sugar.

BOMBAY COTTON DEADLOCK

The cause of the restraining of picketing in the Cotton Market was stated on January 21st to be dissatisfaction among Congress Agents at the settlement arrived at the previous day by the Committee of the Cotton Brokers' Association with a European broker whose speech at the Bombay Council had been misunderstood. Immediately after the settlement, the Committee was successful for some time to have free transaction restored. Owing to the intervention of Congressmen who learnt of the settlement and attitude of some pro-Congress brokers further business was not transacted.

A general meeting of the Cotton Brokers' Association resolved on January 28th that the Association, while having full confidence in the Managing Committee, opine that the question whereon the Managing Committee wished to resign being one wherewith the whole trade was concerned they should not have decided all alone. Hence a committee including Messrs. Mathradas, Boyagis, and Purushotamdivandas has been formed with a view to examining the question at issue for giving a decision which would be binding on all members of the Association as early as possible.

JUTE INDUSTRY

An important Economic Committee was constituted (it was stated on February 6th) by the Ministry of Agriculture to investigate the jute problem, which had lately been engaging the attention of the Government of Bengal and the Council last year.

The terms of reference to the Committee include the question of the regulation, production and marketing of jute, including the establishment of a regulated market, and the creation of a Jute Committee for Bengal on the lines of the proposed Central Jute Committee, the extent to which other materials displaced jute, and the likelihood of further substitutes being found in the near future, and the possibilities of making other economic use of jute which might relieve the present situation.

It is understood that the Committee will report by May next. The Director of Industries, Bengal, will act as Secretary to the Committee.

INDIAN CENTRAL COTTON COMMITTEE

At the meeting on February 3rd of the Indian Central Cotton Committee Mr. B. C. Burt, Agricultural Expert, moved the main resolution for greater use of Indian cotton in the United Kingdom implementing Article Eight of the Ottawa Agreement. He said that he understood it was the intention of the Committee to organise demonstration tests in Lancashire to prove that the results which were obtained at the Technological Laboratory, Matunga, could also be obtained under conditions prevailing in Lancashire. He suggested that the Indian Trade Commissioner, the Government of India and the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research should be kept in a position to give sound advice on such matters.

Mr. Chunilal B. Mehta said that there was no practical method for increasing the use of Indian cotton in Lancashire except by having preference to Indian cotton in Britain. He moved an amendment, to the effect, that the practical method for the use of Indian cotton in Lancashire was by having preference to Indian cotton in Britain by levying an import duty in Britain on imports of non-Empire cottons.

After a good deal of discussion, the amendment was accepted by Mr. Burt, and the proposition as amended was carried.

BACK TO THE LAND

The United Provinces Government issued the following communique dated February 11th:

With the appointment of a committee to investigate the feasibility of employing educated young men on land, requests have been received for an extension of time and for copies of the questionnaire. No regular questionnaire has been framed, but a list is given below of the chief points that appear to arise for consideration. Persons interested in the subject are requested to send their replies by the end of this month.

Questionnaire

(1) Should young men be settled on land in groups of 15 or 20 as colonists or can they be settled in batches of say 2 or 3 on comparatively small plots as may be made available by landlords in various parts of the province?

(2) Are any tracts of culturable land available which would be suitable for colonization by groups of educated men of the middle classes and if so where? There may be arable tracts lying uncultivated because

the ordinary cultivator had not the capital or the initiative to develop them, and some landholders may be in a position to offer such areas for colonization schemes.

(3) What is the minimum area that should be allotted for each colonist or settler?

(4) Assuming that there is more demand for land than would be available, would it be desirable to acquire land for the purpose?

(5) What would the functions of these educated agriculturists be? Should they be, as it were, 'gentlemen farmers' merely supervising the work done by the labour of others, or by their sub-tenants, or should they become full fledged cultivators themselves doing all kinds of work, including digging and weeding?

(6) What sort of cultivation should be carried on at such places; in particular to what extent should fruit and vegetable gardening be undertaken.

(7) What subsidiary industries, if any, should be taken up by them in order to suplement their income?

(8) Should arrangements be made for giving these men any preliminary training to equip them as successful model cultivators and better farmers? If so, along what lines and for what period should such training be given? Should they be paid any stipend or honorarium during the period of training?

(9) Should any special facilities be provided for irrigation, housing, etc, and if so, what and by whom?

(10) On what terms regarding rent and revenue should settlement be made (a) at the initial stage, and (b) after the period of experiment?

(11) How should the colonists be organised if they are settled in the larger tracts? Should they form co-operative societies and if so, what kind and with what object?

(12) What arrangements, if any, would be required for the supervision of the colonists or for giving them instruction?

(13) What would be the approximate cost of making provision for irrigation, housing or other facilities and for provision of tools and implements, etc., and how is this cost to be met?

(14) Should any loan be given in the nature of *taqavi* for the first few years and if so of what amount?

(15) What capital should each young man normally be expected to bring with him?

HOSIERY INDUSTRY

A strong and influential deputation of the hosiery manufacturers from all over India and Burma wrote to the Commerce Member of the Government of India on February 21 for an interview to enable them "to place before the Government the facts about the deplorable condition of the hosiery industry in India, aggravated since the enquiry of the Tariff Board in September last, caused by the dumping of Japanese hosiery at a depreciated exchange."

The Commerce Member received the deputation on March 22.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Details were published on March 2 regarding the industrial disputes in British India for the quarter ending 31st December 1932. The total number of disputes was 33. Bombay heading with 17, Bengal following with 11,

Burma and Madras 2 each, and Central Provinces, I. In all, 34,760 men were affected of whom 18,743 were in Bengal alone.

The total number of days lost was 935,296. Twenty disputes related to wages, seven to personnel, and six to other causes. Six of these were successful, five partially successful, and eighteen unsuccessful. Four were now in progress. One of the disputes extended to two provinces.

The number of disputes in the cotton and woollen mills was thirteen. Though jute mills were involved only in five disputes, the men affected numbered 15,718. Other industries affected included engineering workshops and railways, including railway workshops.

BANKING IN INDIA

Sir Phiroze Sethna, requesting Sir George Schuster to open the new premises of the Central Bank of India Ltd. at Delhi, observed in the course of his speech on March 17:

Sir P. Sethna's Speech

It would be no exaggeration to say that there are still about 500 towns in India with populations of 10,000 and over which enjoy no modern banking facilities beyond of course the institution of shorffs. The conception of the banker, as a great public servant, collecting the idle capital of the community in order to mobilise it for ready use at any point where it can be most profitably employed to the greatest advantage of the body politic is fortunately slowly penetrating the economic consciousness of young India. but the old time shroff is unable or unwilling to accommodate himself or his activities to this new aspect of his calling.

Decline in Volume of Trade Bills

India, has in comparison with other countries, never been a big market for trade bills. There was all the same, a time when local banks, shroffs and investors held in their portfolios trade bills amounting to a good few crores, and all the surplus of the banks and the shroffs could find a ready investment in the shape of trade bills. These bills in the past were a very healthy medium of financing trade and found favour with banks due to their liquidity and profit-earning capacity. The present trade depression and the suspension of credit facilities, due to want of confidence, have considerably affected the supply of trade bills throughout the world. India, however, seems to have suffered considerably more in this respect than other countries. The increased volume of deposits with banks and the large supplies of cheap money neither swell the profits of banks nor offer facilities to trade and industrial concerns. The surplus with the banks flows into other channels like Government securities and Treasury Bills. The advantage of cheap money, therefore, is at present lost to trade and industry. The different Chambers of Commerce all over India could, I think, act to some purpose in this direction by encouraging in different lines of business the circulation of trade Bills, as it is principally through this source that credit could be expanded and the present plentiful supply of funds with banks turned to account.

A Reserve Bank

This brings us to the very important question of the establishment of a Reserve Bank, for one feels, indeed, that unless there is an adequate supply of trade bills offering in the Indian Market, the proposed Reserve Bank could hardly fulfil its legitimate role as a Bank's Bank, inasmuch as the

credit facilities that it might offer to other banks through the re-discounting of such bills, would be denied to these banks due to the absence of these Bills. We do not know at this stage, the exact shape that the Reserve Bank is going to take, whether it is to be a State Bank on the lines of the Central Banks in Europe, or the Federal Reserve Bank in America. The state of Banking in India has yet to attain the high level of that in other countries. The influence and interest of British and foreign banks in India are so great that indigenous institutions, before them, are of but small importance. The British and foreign banks, with their far longer experience and with huge resources, have been the masters of the banking field in India, and indigenous banks, due to their small resources, have been unable, but with few exception, to stand up against their competition.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER'S SPEECH

Sir George Schuster said:—

"I feel sure that all who are concerned in the management of the Central Bank realise the magnitude of their responsibility. A bank such as this, though it is an example of private enterprise, carries, nevertheless, great responsibilities to the public. All deposit banks, of course, do this, and can never be run with regard merely to the making of profits for the shareholders. But a bank such as the Central Bank of India has a special responsibility for, on its sound management and prosperity, one can almost say the good name and credit of Indian banking is staked.

"I hope, moreover, that in the future, other Indian banks will grow up, not as rivals competing with you for business, but as collaborators, which she needs. There is, indeed, ample scope for such a development, for a mere glance at the statistics which you have quoted shows, all too clearly, how small, as yet, has been the development of banking institutions in comparison of this great country.

LEGAL

MEERUT TRIAL

AFTER a trial lasting 3 years 9 months and 27 days final orders were passed on January 16 in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in which 30 alleged Communists were prosecuted for conspiring to deprive the King-Emperor of his Sovereignty of British India. The Judge acquitted three of the accused and sentenced the rest as follows:—

Sentences

One—Transportation for life—Muzaffar Ahmed, Calcutta.

Five—Transportation for 12 years—(1) Shrinath Amrit Dange, Bombay, (2) Philip Spratt, Calcutta, (3). Sachidananda Vishnu Ghate, Bombay, (4) Keshav Nilkant Joglekar, Bombay, and (5) Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar, Bombay.

Three—Transportation for 10 years—(1) Benjamin Francis Bradley, Bombay, (2) Shantaram Savalram Mirajkar, and (3) Shaukat Usmani, Bombay.

Four—Transportation for 5 years—(1) Ajodhia Joshi, Amritsar, (2) Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari, Bombay, (3) Puranchand Joshi, Allahabad and (4) Motiram Gajanan Desai, Bombay.

Six—Rigorous Imprisonment for 4 years—(1) Gopendra Chakravarti, Dacca, (2) Gopal Basak, Dacca, (3) Huglester Hutchinson, (4) Radharam Mitra, Burdwan, (5) S. H. Jhabwala, Bombay, and (6) Kedarnath Saigal, Lahore.

Five—Rigorous Imprisonment for 3 years—(1) Gouri Shankar, Meerut, (2) Lakshmanroy Kadam, Jhansi, (3) Shamsul Huda, Calcutta, (4) Govind Ramchandra Kasle, Bombay, and (5) Arjun Atmaram Alwe, Bombay.

Three—Acquitted—(1) Kishorilal Ghosh, (2) Shibnath Banerji, Khulna, and (3) Dr. Visvanath Mukherjee, Gorakpur.

Originally 33 persons were placed on the charge sheet for conspiracy and attempt to deprive the King of his sovereignty of British India. Of these one accused, namely, Amin Hyder Khan is still absconding; another accused, Dharam Vir Singh, was acquitted by the committing Magistrate; and a third one, Dhondiraj Thengdi, died in September, 1932.

The sentences imposed on the 27 accused are over and above the period of nearly 4 years detention they underwent during the trial.

Chronology of the Trial

Arrests	20-3-'30
Committed to Sessions	14-1-'30
Prosecution Evidence Complete	17-3-'31
Defence Statement Completed	21-1-'32
Defence Evidence Completed	25-3-'32
Defence Arguments Completed	16-6-'32
Assessors' Verdict	16-8-'32
Judgment	16-1-'33

Time Involved 3 years 9 months, 27 days.

Two Deaths

In the course of the Meerut case trial there were two casualties—the death of Mr. Langford James, the Special Prosecuting Counsel and Mr. Dhondiraj Thengdi, a 70-year old accused.

Clemency for Meerut Prisoners

A Committee of Members of the House of Commons and others with Mr. Morgan Jones as Chairman, was formed on February 21st for the purpose of pursuing the demand for exercise of clemency for the Meerut prisoners.

ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA

Rs. 1,000 Security Forfeited

The Government of Bengal has forfeited Rs. 1000 in all out of the sum of Rs. 2000 already in deposit by the Press Emergency Act for a leading article which appeared in its issue of November 15 last.

The following is the full text of the notice issued over the signature of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta and served on Sj. Satyendra Nath Mazumdar in his capacity as publisher of the "Ananda Bazar Patrika":—

Rs 2,000 Fresh Security Demanded

"Whereas Government by his order No. 946 Pb. dated the 10th January 1933 has confiscated the sum of Rs. 500 the portion of your security deposited in this Court for the above periodical, you are therefore directed under section 9(1) Act XXIII of 1931 to deposit fresh security of Rs. 2000 less Rs. 500 which is left as security) and further to file a fresh declaration for the above paper by the 21st day of January 1933 without fail."

Similar notice was also served on Sj. Jagadish Mukherjee, keeper of the "Ananda Press."

Application Dismissed

The application of Sj. Satyendra Nath Mazumdar, Editor and Publisher "Ananda Bazar Patrika", and Sj. Jagadish Chandra Mukherjee, keeper of the Ananda Press, against an order of the local Government forfeiting the sum of Rs. 1,000 out of the security deposits of Rs. 2,000, in respect of publication of an article in the newspaper on November 15, 1932, was dismissed on March 27th by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Pearson and Mr. Justice M. C. Ghose, Calcutta High Court, on the ground that it tended to excite hatred against Government. Their lordships however awarded no costs.

FREE PRESS JOURNAL APPEAL

A Special Bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Justices Murphy and Patkar sat on January 27 to hear the appeal filed on behalf of the "Free Press Journal" against an order of the Bombay Government dated October 19 last forfeiting its security deposits of Rs. 10,000 under section 6 of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act in respect of an article headed "No Swaraj under this cause" by Mahatma Gandhi reproduced from the "Young India," in a special issue which was brought out on the "Gandhi fast day".

Arguing on behalf of the petitioner Mr. Thakore stated that the article was reproduced when Mahatma Gandhi commenced his historic "Fast unto death". It was from the pen of Gandhiji himself, being reproduced from the "Young India" of April 1930, an article on which no action was taken

by the Government at the time of original publication. The special issue of the "Free Press Journal" on September 20 last was devoted to one object only namely, to concentrate public opinion on the question of Untouchability, so as to bring the parties concerned to reach an agreement that would prevent Gandhiji's fast from maturing. The special issue reproduced the views of other prominent men like Rev. C. F. Andrews, Dr. Ambedkar and others. There was no criticism of the Government in any of the other articles in the issue, the object of the issue being only to stir up the Hindu Community on the untouchability issue and thereby induce Gandhiji to give up the fast.

After hearing the arguments of Mr. Thakore who appeared on behalf of the "Free Press Journal" and without calling upon the Advocate General, the Special Bench of the Bombay High Court dismissed the appeal filed by the paper against the order of the Bombay Govt. forfeiting its security of Rs. 10,000 with costs.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARMOURY RAID CASE

Rai Bahadur Nagen Banerjee in opening on January 3rd the supplementary Armoury Raid Case at Chittagong in which Ambica Chakravarti, Hemendu Dastidar and Saroj Guha are being charged before a Special Tribunal on charges of having conspired to wage war against the King-Emperor and for being members of a Criminal Conspiracy, narrated how Ambica was arrested at Kachuai in Thana Patiya in October 1930. Hemendra was arrested on August, 1932, while coming out of the Friend Union Mess at Manicktola. He gave his name as Surendra Nath Roy of Barisal. Saroj Guha was arrested in August 1932 at Dharmapur, Noakhali while he was passing under false name as Sailesh Ray. He was working as a private tutor on Rs. 4 a month. In spite of warrants and proclamations for the apprehension of these accused and several other absconders, they could not be placed at the trial with the main body of whom 12 persons were convicted by Mr. Younie on 1st March, 1932 on various charges. In spite of the best efforts, Rai Bahadur continued, other absconders including Surjya Sen, the Master mind of the conspiracy of the outrages of 1930, are still at large.

Judgment

The Special Tribunal delivering judgment on February 10th in the Supplementary Armoury Raid Case sentenced Ambica Chakravarti to death, Saroj Kanti Guha to transportation for life. Hemendu Dastidar was acquitted.

DELHI CONSPIRACY CASE

The following is the text of the communique dated February 3rd issued by the Government of India announcing the reasons for abandoning the Delhi Conspiracy Case after twenty-one months' trial.

The Delhi Conspiracy Case was started under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure (Punjab Amendment) Act of 1930 on the 15th April, 1931. Fourteen accused were placed on trial before three Commissioners appointed under that Act. The offences alleged against them included conspiracy to commit murder and dacoity, manufacture of explosives and illegal possession of arms and explosives. The case has now been proceeding for more than 21 months. The examination and cross-examination of the first witness extended over a period of seven months and up-to-date not a half of the prosecution witnesses has been examined. The prospects of future progress have been carefully considered by the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, in consultation with those engaged in the prosecution and it is

estimated that with the progress at the rate hitherto secured and there is nothing to suggest that this can be accelerated, the hearing of prosecution witnesses will not be completed in less than four years from the beginning of the case. The accused will then have the right of further cross-examination and after that will enter on their defence. It is likely that the case would take in all five years from start to finish. The expenditure involved is extremely heavy apart from the direct cost of the tribunal and prosecuting staff and defence Counsel engaged on behalf of accused and heavy charges incurred in protecting the Judges and guarding the accused. The total annual cost is about Rs. 3½ lakhs. The Government of India after careful consideration of the facts are forced to the conclusion that the special procedure which was adopted in this case with a view to expedite its disposal has failed to secure that object. They cannot contemplate allowing a case of this nature to continue another three years or more. They have therefore decided that the special procedure should be abandoned and that the conspiracy case should not be pursued. The application of the Criminal Procedure (Punjab Amendment) Act to Delhi is accordingly being cancelled and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners appointed thereunder will cease.

Certain accused, however, are alleged to have committed serious overt acts and eight of them will be placed on their trial under the ordinary procedure in respect of separate specific offences. With regard to the remaining six accused no further proceedings will be taken against four. In the case of two others the Governor-General-in-Council considers that they cannot consistently with public safety be set at liberty. He has therefore directed their commitment to custody under Regulation 3 of 1818 and in accordance with the ordinary procedure when persons are detained under the Regulation specifically on the ground of their connection with terrorist activities the facts will be submitted for opinion before two Judges.

Out of the fourteen accused of the Delhi Conspiracy Case Vidhyabhushan, M.A., of Benares and Kheyaliram Gupta of Delhi have been ordered to be detained as State prisoners while Gajanand and Sadasiv Poddar of Jhans, Master Hardwari of Delhi, Master Harkesh and Bhagirath of Delhi have been released. The remaining eight accused will be prosecuted individually in respect of specific charges under the ordinary penal law.

LUKE SHOOTING CASE

Bholanath Roy Karmakar, accused in the Luke Shooting Case, was sentenced to undergo seven years' transporatation by the Special Tribunal at Alipore, Calcutta on February 17th.

The judgment was unanimous.

In the concluding portion of their judgment, the Tribunal observed:—

"We unanimously hold that the accused Bholanath Roy Karmakar is guilty and we therefore convict the accused Bhola under Section 120-B read with Section 302 I. P. C. and also under Section 307 I. P. C. read with Section 34 I. P. C. It now remains for us to pass sentence on the accused who is a youth of 17 only. We cannot be unmindful of the fact that youths of similar age have of late been engaged in terrorist activities by murdering or attempting to murder their innocent victims. We are of opinion that the ends of justice would be served by sentencing the accused to transportation for seven years under Section 307 read with Section 34 I. P. C. and he is therefore sentenced accordingly. Having regard to the sentence passed on him under Section 307 read with Section 34 I. P. C. we do not pass on him any separate sentence under Section 120-B read with Section 302 I. P. C."

WATSON SHOOTING CASE

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Ameer Ali of Calcutta High Court delivered judgment on March 17th upholding the conviction of Sunil Kumar Chatterji and Promode Ranjan Bose by a Special Judge at Alipore in connexion with the attack made on Sir Alfred Watson, Editor of the "Statesman," on Friday, September 28 last.

The sentence of transportation for life passed on Sunil could not in the opinion of their lordships be reduced in the circumstances of the case. The sentence of ten years rigorous imprisonment passed on Promode, remarked their lordships, was unexceptional.

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Ameer Ali delivered judgment setting aside the conviction and sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Amar Kumar Ghose by the Special Judge at Alipur in connexion with the attack on Sir Alfred Watson, editor of the " Statesman, " for harbouring Biren Roy, an alleged conspirator, now absconding.

In view of the fact that the Ordinance itself had ceased to take effect and the court of the Special Judge itself was no longer functus, their lordships directed a retrial of the accused by the Chief Presidency Magistrate himself in his ordinary jurisdiction without committing the accused to the Court of Sessions on a charge under Section 212 I. P. C. only (harbouring).

DOUGLAS MURDER CASE

Before Justices Panckridge and Patterson, Calcutta High Court, the rule obtained by Fanindra Nath Das calling upon the District Magistrate of Midnapore to show cause why the order of the Additional District Magistrate dismissing his petition of complaint against Sub-Inspector Rahat Buksh Chaudhuri and three constables on a charge of assault should not be set aside and further enquiry made into his complaint, was heard on March 22nd.

Mr. Justice Panckridge and Mr. Justice Patterson delivered judgment on 13th March accepting the revisional application of Fanindra Bhusan Das, a Home Internee, and directed a further inquiry into his complaint against Sub-Inspector Rahat Bux Chaudhuri and three constables at Midnapore, on a charge of alleged assault while in police custody.

MOTIHARI CONSPIRACY CASE

At the Patna High Court, Mr. Justice Kulwant Sahay and Mr. Justice MacPherson delivered judgment on January 13 in the Motihari conspiracy appeal. There are three accused namely Jugesher Prasad, Ramdeo Giri and Gauri Shanker Dube in this case and they were convicted and sentenced to undergo seven years' rigorous imprisonment each by the Sessions Judge of Muzaffarpore on a charge of dacoity. The above named accused persons are alleged to be revolutionaries as bombs were used at the time of the dacoity and were also alleged to be recovered from the house of the accused Jugesher Prasad along with other chemicals used for the preparations of bombs.

COMMUNAL

TEMPLE-ENTRY ENQUIRY

THE questionnaire issued on January 18 by the Temple-entry Enquiry Committee includes the following questions:—

What classes or communities of Hindus are considered Caste-Hindus and what non-caste Hindus?

In all or any of the temples within the State into which Caste-Hindus alone are now admitted, have the Caste-Hindus (a) an exclusive right of worship or (b) any recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship? Can you refer to decisions of courts recognising such right?

With regard to all or any of such temples, please state when and by whom they were founded; whether they were founded for the benefit of all Hindus or only for the benefit of particular castes of Hindus and, in the latter case, the caste or castes meant to be benefited; whether it was the intention of the founder or founders that certain classes of Hindus alone should worship inside the temples; whether the classes of Hindus who are not now admitted inside the temples have had such admission at any time, and, if they had, how and on what grounds they came to be excluded subsequently; whether any classes of Hindus who had no temple-entry before have been subsequently admitted into temples, giving instances, if any, and the grounds on which they were previously excluded and subsequently admitted; whether they have been endowed by Caste-Hindus only or whether non-caste Hindus also have made any endowments for them; what the customs and usages are relating to the admission of worshippers into the temples, with special reference to the different limits, if any, to which the different classes or castes are admitted, and whether there are any temples where there is difference in admissibility on account of sex; what the origin is of the usages and customs mentioned above; what the extent is of the right of worship now claimed for those who have no temple-entry; whether Caste-Hindus or any section or sections of them are owners of such temples; whether the Caste-Hindus are the sole beneficiaries of such temples; and whether there is any other basis (besides ownership and sole beneficiaryship) on which the excessive right of Caste-Hindus to worship inside such temples can be supported, and if so, what.

ETERNAL DAMNATION

Gandhiji on the Present Position of Harijans

In an interview to the Associated Press on Dr. Ambedkar's statement Mahatma Gandhi said on February 14: "I have most carefully read Dr. Ambedkar's statement for which I cannot conceal my sorrow but I must also confess that he has a perfect right to make a statement as has been done. The 'harijans' have laboured under grievous wrongs for ages and Dr. Ambedkar and other educated 'Harijans' are fully conscious of these wrongs. The marvel to me is that they are not more bitter and more resentful than they are, having therefore excused their position, I cannot travel the same length as Dr. Ambedkar would have me to do. He has asked

me a straight question and is entitled to an equally straight answer from me. I have described myself as a 'harijan' by adoption and in order to qualify myself for the privilege that it is to me, I have endeavoured to enter into the very depths of their feelings. I have lived with them, dined with them and they have always claimed the first place in my thoughts and my prayers. I have done so not to do any favour to them but as a matter of religious duty. I am a Hindu not merely because I am born in the Hindu fold but I am one by conviction and choice. As I know it and interpret it, it gives me all solace I need both here and hereafter. It solves for me many riddles of life. But it also contains as it is practised to-day the big blot of untouchability in the sense in which it is understood to-day, that is the essence of distinction between man and man, one occupying the top-most rung of the ladder and another the lowest. If this doctrine of utmost superiority and utmost inferiority descending from father to son for eternity is the integral part of Hinduism without the slightest prospect of change, then I no more want to belong to it than does Dr. Ambedkar. But I am convinced that this doctrine of eternal damnation is a thing utterly foreign to the spirit of Hinduism and the Shastras, as I have understood them. There is no superiority or inferiority in the Hinduism of my conception. Therefore I should go the whole length with Dr. Ambedkar in fighting for the abrogation of superiority on the part of any individual or clash over any other and my fight for untouchability is a fight against this horrid doctrine. If untouchability goes from the heart of Hindus, superiority or inferiority are also gone. But when Dr. Ambedkar wants to fight Varnashram itself, I cannot be in his camp because I believe Varnasharam to be the integral part of Hinduism. It is quite evident that Varnashram of Dr. Ambedkar's conception is being practised to-day but that is not my conception of Varnashram. In my opinion presently both Varnashram and Apaddharma are in abeyance and if I were asked what Varnam is in operation presently, I would say Sudhra Varna, not because it is the lowest but because it is the only thing that remains, for Divine Knowledge, the power behind it and wealth for the support of this knowledge and power are gone. Knowledge, power and wealth there certainly are in a way. But in the religious conception of Varnasharma, these three have to be used not for personal ends but for spiritual and useful advance. The only thing that remains open for all to day is service, also included in the scheme of 'Varnashram Dharma' for spiritual end. Out of that spirit of service, it is possible to revive spiritual knowledge and the power to defend it and wealth to sustain both and then those who are in possession of that knowledge and will use it for society will be Brahmans, those who use that power also for the benefit of the society will be Kshatriyas and those who gain wealth and use the wealth also for the society are Vysas and they will all depend for their very existence on the Shudras, embodiment of real service. For me that is true Varnashram and there is no question of superiority or inferiority in this conception."

"Shudra is as necessary to Society as the Brahman. Each will have more or less all the qualities and privileges of the rest but people belonging to particular 'Varnas' will perform special service assigned to them. There is then in this conception no question of privilege but only duty and service. I invite Dr. Ambedkar to shed his bitterness and anger and try to learn the beauties of faith of his forefathers. Let him curse caste Hindus as much as he likes but let him not curse Hinduism without making an unbiassed study of it and if it fails to sustain him in the hour of need by all means let him forsake it. Coming to the question of temple

entry, I entirely agree with him that 'harijans' cannot be and must not be beggars for it. It is for caste Hindus to open the temples whole heartedly or not at all. I would repeat that the opening of temples is one of the duties that the caste Hindus owe to 'harijans.' I hope Dr. Ambedkar's statement is not intended to convey the meaning that 'harijans' do not feel the deprivation of the right of temple entry for I know from personal knowledge, for thousands of them it is a serious deprivation. The betterment of their economic and educational conditions is undoubtedly required. But no betterment of those conditions will give religious quality. That can be attained only by admission into temples and all religious consolations to which the caste Hindus are to-day entitled. This religious equality cannot be attained even by Statute but only when the heart of Caste Hindus is changed. The Bills before the Assembly are not intended to force open the temples to Harijans but only to make it possible for the Caste Hindus to throw them open when the hearts of the majority are changed. Dr. Ambedkar has confined himself to the criticism of the second Bill (temple entry Bill modelled on Subbaroyan's Bill). In my opinion this Bill is designed to test Caste Hindu feelings. Where the hearts of the majority are changed, the temple would throw open. Surely Dr. Ambedkar does not want forcible opening of temples. I do not for one moment hold the opinion which he does that the majority of caste Hindus to-day are not prepared to open the temples to 'harijans'. Evidence of Guruvayoor Referendum despite Dr. Ambedkar's belittling it is undoubtedly in favour of a change of heart on the part of Caste Hindus. The Referendum in Madura too recently published points to the same direction. There will be time enough to show dissatisfaction and disappointment when the Caste Hindus have been given an opportunity of expressing their opinion. Dr. Ambedkar, I observe, has remained silent about the first Bill (the Untouchability Bill). It withdraws recognition of Secular Law from recognition of religious belief. I hope he has no objection to this Bill but whether he has or not the Caste Hindus have a duty to perform, that is to secure the passage of the Bills with the utmost despatch."

UNTOUCHABILITY ABOLITION BILL

The following is the text of Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar's Untouchability Abolition Bill which was permitted to be introduced in the Assembly, but which was not taken up during the winter session:—

Whereas it is increasingly felt by the Hindu community that the disabilities that are imposed by social custom and usage on certain classes of Hindus, commonly known as the Depressed Classes, and which have been in certain matters even legally recognised in the adjudication of rights and duties in civil and criminal proceedings, are repugnant to modern conditions and ideas of justice and social solidarity and should no longer be recognised by law or otherwise enforced, but should be severely discouraged.

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Untouchability Abolition Act and shall apply to the whole of British India.

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in any existing enactment, regulation or order, and notwithstanding any custom or usage or interpretation of law, no penalty, disadvantage, or disability shall be imposed upon or any discrimination made or recognised against any subject of the State on the ground that such person belongs to an untouchable caste or class among Hindus, and no court, civil or criminal, shall recognise any custom of untouchability or base its adjudication on such a custom.

FOREIGN

DE VALERA'S MANIFESTO

PLEDGING to the Fianna Fail to govern the country justly and impartially Mr. De. Valera issued a manifesto on January 21st in which he declares that the party's election programme has not changed since the last year's elections. The main features of the programme, Mr. De Valera states, include abolition of the Oath of allegiance, retention of land annuities and the proposal for substantial modifications of the legislature. Regarding the legislature Mr. De Valera proposes firstly the abolition of the Senate as constituted at present: if it is decided to retain a Second Chamber Mr. De Valera intends to considerably reduce its membership. Secondly Mr. De Valera proposes to substantially reduce the number of Deputies in the Fail. These restrictions would take effect after the next general election.

Apropos to the relations with Great Britain the manifesto reiterates the desire of the Fianna Fail to live on the friendliest terms with Britain and to strive to get British statesmen to realise that a lasting peace between the two countries is possible only when Ireland is free to determine the form of her governmental institution and the extent of co-operation with Britain. Referring to trade facilities Mr. De Valera declares that he is ready to exchange those with England as indeed with other nations. He is however, unwilling to make trade agreements which restrict the protection necessary to preserve the home market for Irish farmers and develop Irish manufacturing interests which are necessary for providing employment and for securing better standard of living for the growing population.

ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL DISPUTE

Opening the case for Britain before the League of Nations, Sir J. Simon denied on January 28th the Persian statement that the Anglo-Persian Company for a number of years had failed to pay annually 2,000 tomans due to Persia under the concession. He said that the matter was amicably settled in January 1911 when the company paid £2,000 royalties, whereas Persia had said that no payment had been made. A further million sterling with respect to this period was paid in 1920.

Persian Minister's Reply

Mr. Dawar, Persian Minister of Justice, following Sir John Simon, referring to the British disquietude regarding the alleged refusal of the Persian Government to accept responsibility for the protection of property and personnel of the company, said that although Persia repudiated the concession, she never attempted to evade the obligations under international law to protect the lives and property of foreigners living in Persia. He urged that since Persia had cancelled the whole of the concession she could not have had recourse to arbitration under article 17 of the concession without appearing to contradict herself. The Persian delegate declared that,

while Persia had drawn only nine millions sterling from oil fields, it was estimated that the British Government's share was nearly forty millions.

Sir John Simon replied that the British share of the profits was roughly nine millions sterling, but the British Government had contributed millions to the capital of the company, whereas the Persian Government had not contributed half a penny.

MANCHUKUO

War Clouds in Far East

Chinese reports dated February 15th from Manchuria described the constant Japanese movements towards Jehol border wherein a vast Chinese army was mustered. The Chinese vernacular press was appealing to the Government to raise a war loan and it is stated that the Finance Minister was trying to raise 20 million dollars for war purpose, while Peking, and Tientsin bankers were offering five million.

League Ultimatum to Japan

The Committee of Nineteen decided on January 20th to give Japan what is virtually a 24-hour ultimatum to accept or reject the Committee's suggestion.

The Committee considered what course it would adopt in the event of an unfavourable reply from Japan and it is understood, on the suggestion of Capt. Eden (Britain), that a sub-committee was appointed to consider the question of draft report under Section 4 of Article XV. It is gathered that the report would be based on the endorsement of the Lytton Report.

Lytton Report

The Committee of Nineteen's report dated February 17th emphasises that the sovereignty of Manchuria belongs to China and has been infringed by Japan. It insists on the rectification of it by the withdrawal of Japanese troops, etc. While the recommendations do not provide for a mere return to *status quo* before September 1931, they exclude the maintenance of the recognition of Manchukuo as incompatible with the fundamental principles of international obligations and lasting peace in the Far East. The Negotiation Committee should be charged as its first object to organise evacuation and determine the stages and time limits for that. It is further recommended that there should be established in Manchuria within a reasonable time an organisation under the sovereignty, and compatible with the administrative integrity, of China which would provide a wide measure of autonomy, harmony with local conditions and would respect the rights and interests of Japan and third parties.

AMERICA OFF GOLD STANDARD

Mr. Roosevelt issued a proclamation dated March 6th giving the National Government absolute control over the nation's gold supply. It places an embargo on gold and silver exports and forbids the earmarking of gold for foreign nations.

MISCELLANEOUS

ANTI-MALARIA CAMPAIGN

IN the course of his joint reply to the addresses of welcome presented by the Burdwan Municipality, District Board and Union Boards, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal made an important announcement on January 31st regarding the scheme which the Government intend to launch shortly in Burdwan District for attacking the Malaria problem from a new angle. "The methods hitherto adopted," said His Excellency, "have only aimed at either curing people already infected with malaria or exterminating the malaria mosquito—both preventive measures—but the method we now propose to put to the test, aims primarily not at exterminating the mosquito, the carrier of the malaria parasite, but at preventing the mosquito from becoming infected."

A drug had now become available called Palsmoquin which, it was claimed, would, if taken with quinine for three days, renders, the patient non-infective. The present proposal, therefore, was to administer the new drug with quinine on a large scale in selected areas of Burdwan at the time of the year immediately prior to the period when the mosquito usually became liable to infection. The new experiment, which would cost the Government Rs. 20,000, would take place during the coming hot-weather, when treatment centres would be opened in Burdwan District over an area covering fifty square miles, and field staff would be deputed to distribute the drug."

RETURNED EMIGRANTS IN CALCUTTA

A batch of about five-hundred men and women marched to Calcutta from the colony, a distance of seven miles, and attempted to approach the Member-in-charge, Sir A. K. Ghuznavi, at the latter's residence on March 22. On the way, they were stopped by the police. A melee, it is reported, followed resulting in minor injuries to a few and the arrest of three persons.

Official Communique

In the course of a press statement issued in this connection it was pointed out that emigrant repatriates on their return from the colonies were for some years absorbed in the population of the country. A number of them, however, failed to settle and were living at Metia Bruz for sometime past. As they were reported to be without food and shelter, the Bengal Government established a camp for them where 600 were supplied with gratuitous food for the last four months. Offers were made by the Vijayagarah State that those willing could be provided for in the State, and it was announced that they would be sent there, at Government expense and as the others could not be indefinitely fed at Government expense they were told that gratuitous food supply would henceforth be stopped, but that each would be given ten rupees in the case of adults and five rupees in the case of minors and that if they were prepared to work, work would

also be provided. But these persons refused to do any work and only pressed for their being sent back to the colonies at Government expense. This, however, the Government could not do, as the same claim would be made by several thousands of others already settled, and secondly the colonies did not want them back. It was impossible to do anything for the people who refused to do any work that could be found for them.

INDIAN JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

Half-yearly Report, August 1932 to February 1933

The last annual General Meeting of the Association was held in Calcutta on the 14th August, 1932. The six monthly report covers the period since then till the end of February, 1933.

Roll of Honour

The Association had to record during this period an unprecedented number of deaths of Journalists. In Pandit Shamsunder Chakravarty who was a member of the Association, the profession of Journalism has lost one of its most devoted votaries. The death of Sj Kishorilal Ghosh, a former Secretary of the Association and one of the most brilliant men in the profession, has been deeply mourned, the interval between the Association's congratulations to him conveyed to his sick bed on his acquittal in the Meerut case and his death being only a month. Sj. Golaplal Ghose, Editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, was a link between the old and the new generation of Journalists. Sj. Jnanada Mohan Das, Editor of Samaya, a prominent member of the Association since its birth, was a veteran in the profession. Sj. Durgadas Lahiri of the Bangabasi, Pandit Krishna Kamal Bhattacharyya, founder of the Hitabadi, Rai Bahadur Jadunath Mozumder of the Hindu Patrika and Brahmacharin, Sj. Nikhil Nath Roy, Editor of Oitihasik Chitra, Saswati and Pallibani and Sj. Satya Charan Sen, Editor of Ayurvignan Sammilani, passed away during this period. One of the youngest of our brothers of the profession, Sj. Rabindra Nath Moitra, has left us at the threshold of a brilliant career. The journalistic profession is poorer to-day at the passing away of such a galaxy of able men.

Activities.

The activities of the Association have been mainly directed during this period towards the organisation of a Club and for the preparation of a scheme for the benefit of working journalists. As soon as sufficient funds are collected the Club, a scheme of which has been prepared and approved by the Executive Committee, will be started. Two notes, one by Mr. S. K. Banerjee and the other by the Secretary, have been prepared and circulated to members of the Executive Council for the improvement of the pay, prospects and tenure of employment of working journalists. If only the working journalists will take a more lively interest much may be done to improve their lot which for reasons that need not be discussed here are far from enviable.

Indian Recorder

The third quarterly volume of the publication of the Association the "Indian Recorder" has appeared and its usefulness has been widely recognised. An arrangement has been made with the publisher Mr. K. M. Banerjee by which the Association is to get As. -/2/- for each Volume of

the "Recorder" sold. The "Recorder" is sold at a discount to members of the Association. A quarterly register of events, opinions, statistics etc. it is a unique publication and has saved for hard-working Journalists, publicists and publicmen much time and trouble.

Interests of the Press

The Association has protested against the proposal for the increase of the rate of Press telegrams and has followed up its campaign against the Press and other Ordinances by broadcasting its protest against the implementing of these Ordinances in statutes. It has also recorded its strong protest against the policy of demanding securities from newspapers and periodicals instead of prosecuting them whereby the legitimate activities of the Press as purveyor of correct news and organ of public opinion have been seriously curtailed. It has protested particularly against the security of Rs. 20,000 demanded of the Free Press Journal after forfeiture of its previous securities and has asked newspapers throughout the country to stand by the Free Press in its brave fight on behalf of the Press as a whole.

STATISTICS

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA STERLING LOAN

Amount Outstanding.	Rate of Interest.	Year of Issue.	Date of Redemption.	Quotations. Jany. 1933	Feb. 1933	March. 1933
11,539,986	2½%	...	After 1926	65	64½	64½
77,024,185	3 %	....	5th Oct. 1948	75	75½	74¾
88,667,884	3½%	....	1931	86½	87½	87½
39,852,418	4½%	1922-23	1950-55	106½	107¾	109½
17,500,000	4½%	1928	1958-68	107	108	109¾
7,000,000	6 %	1930	1933-35	102¼	102	101½
12,000,000	6 %	1930	1935-37	107	108	108
17,181,249	5½%	1931	1936-38	107	108	108
10,000,000	6 %	1931	1933-34	104¼	104	103½
10,000,000	5 %	1932	1942-47	107¾	107¾	107¾

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RUPEE LOAN

Amount Outstanding.	Rate of Interest.		Year of Issue.	Date of Redemption.	Quotations. Jany. 1933	Feb. 1933	March. 1933
5,42,71,300	3 %	Loan	1896	3 months' notice	63½	68½	70½
22,73,57,000	3½%	Loan	1843	3 months' notice			
23,36,00,753	3½%	Loan	1855	3 months' notice			
36,53,38,950	3½%	Loan	1865	3 months' notice	75⅛	81⅜	70⅝
2,86,94,400	3½%	Loan	1879	3 months' notice			
34,58,50,900	3½%	Loan	1901	3 months' notice			
9,90,01,200	4 %	Conv. Ln.	1916-17	1931-36	98⅜	100⅝	100¾
19,67,94,050	5 %	War Ln.	1917	1929-47	100½	100½	100⅝
4,72,65 800	5 %	Bonds	1925	1935	101¾	103	103⅞
29,49,70,600	4 %	Loan	1926	1960-70	85⅝	93½	94¼
19,53,79,100	4 %	Loan	1927	1934-37	98½	100¼	101⅝
9,05,69,700	4½%	Loan	1928	1955-60	95⅜	101⅜	102⅝
27,05,00,000	5 %	Loan	1932	1940-43	102¼	105	105
25,98,05,600	4½%	Bonds	1928	1934	101⅛	101⅜	101½
28,22,85,800	5 %	Loan	1929	1939-44	101¾	104⅝	105⅛
29,70,80,900	6 %	Bonds	1930	1933-36	101½	101½	101½
18,69,00,000	5½%	Loan	1932	1938-40	103⅞	105¾	106⅝
16,95,16,600	6½%	Tr. Bond	1931	1935	105⅜	106⅜	106¾
*56,79,07,700	5 %	Loan	*1919	1945-55	106¾	110⅝	105⅜
*14,63,39,800	6 %	Bonds	*1922	1932	100⅛	100⅛	—
*21,45,58,200	5 %	Bonds	*1923	1933	101⅜	102⅞	111

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT RUPEE LOAN

Amount Outstanding.	Rate of Interest.		Year of Issue.	Date of Redemption.	Quotations. Jany. 1933	Feb. 1933	March. 1933
1,86,67,700	6¼%	P. G. Ln.	1923	1933	101½	101½	99⅞
86,80,400	5¾%	”	1925	1937	101⅛	101⅛	101½
7,74,300	5½%	U. P. Ln.	1919	1929-44	—	—	101⅛
*4,18,70,500	6 %	U. P. Ln.	1921	1921-41	100¼	100¼	100⅛
*1,19,35,425	6¼%	Mysore Ln.	1920	1940	......	......	......
*1,04,59,500	7 %	”	1921	1931	......	......	......
*30,50,412½	6½%	”	1921	1941-51	......	......	......
*1,61,05,000	5 %	”	1930	1955	......	......	......
*2,54,80,000	5 %	”	1930	1938	......	......	......
*9,38,93,300	6½%	B. G. Ln.	1920	1934	106⅛	106⅛	106⅛

* Tax Free.

IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA RETURNS

(In Lakhs of Rupees).

Date		Deposits Public	Deposits Other	Government Securities	Loans	Cash Credits.	Inland Bills Discounted	Ways & Means Advances to Govt.	Cash Balance	Bank Rate %
Jan.	7	6,76	67,53	30,77	6,39	18,34	2,01	4,50	19,46	4
"	13	7,05	67,23	31,34	6,78	18,28	1,96	.		4
"	20	7,87	69,56	31,94	6,29	18,02	2,40		19,18	4
"	27	8,67	71,55	31,19	6,59	18,03	2,23		20,17	4
Feb.	3	6,57	70,01	32,16	6,38	18,23	2,26	50	18,97	4
"	10	7,47	68,95	33,50	6,31	18,00	2 28	3,50	19,73	3½
"	17	7,43	70 10	34,13	6,39	18 71	2,93	1,00,00	21,34	3½
"	24	8,74	70,99	35,28	6,30	18,80	2,96		23,36	3½
Mar.	3	6,98	75,84	35,21	6,46	17,98	2,28	6,00,00	21,90	3½
"	10	6,60	76,60	33,77	6,32	18,26	2,63	8,00,00	21,02	3½
"	17	6,77	76,28	34,54	6,36	18,00	2,28	3,50	19,73	3½
"	24	7,66	74,05	37,17	3,60	18,44	2,58	3,00,00	23,88	3½
"	31	11,34	71,70	37,08	3,29	19,55	3,56	.	26,44	3½

INDIAN PAPER CURRENCY RETURNS

(In Lakhs of Rupees)

Date		Notes in Circulation.	Reserve. Silver Coins.	Reserve. Gold Coin & Bullion.	Reserve. Silver Bullion under coinage.	Reserve. Securities in India.	Percentage of Metallic Reserve to Note issued.
Jan	7	1,74,84	95,79	25,45	12,91	38,70	77 86
"	15	1,74,54	97,07	25,45	13,28	38,74	77.81
"	22	1,74,28	96,95	25,45	13 45	38,74	77.77
"	31	1,74,33	96,26	25,52	13,28	39,26	77 48
Feb.	7	1,74,15	95,90	25 52	13,41	39,32	77 42
"	15	1,74,32	95,57	25,62	13,89	39,25	77 48
"	22	1,74,74	95,73	25,62	14,15	39 25	77 54
"	28	1,75,25	96,03	25,68	14,34	39,20	77.63
Mar.	7	1,75 20	95,80	25,79	14,48	39,14	77 66
"	15	1,75,43	95,59	25,79	14,84	39,21	77.65
"	22	1,76,14	95,91	25,91	15,19	39,13	77 78
"	31	1,76,90	96,34	25,99	15,52	39,04	77.93

THREE MONTHS' BILLS

(in 1,000 rupees)

Week Ending		Tendered	Accepted	Average Rate of Tender per annum	Intermediate	Rate
Jan.	3	——	1,00,00	2 10 3	39,75	2 4 (
"	16	3,17,00	1,00,00	2 9 3	67,50	2 4 (
"	23	5,98,75	1,00,00	2 7 0	88,00	2 0 (
"	30	4,87,50	1,00,00	2 2 7	4,17,00	2 0 (
Feb.	6	3,11,50	1,00,00	2 0 9	3,42,150	1 14 (
"	13	2,06,25	1,00,00	1 15 10	—	—
"	20	1,60,75	1,50,00	1 15 9	—	—
"	27	2,72,25	1,49,75	1 14 7	—	—
Mar.	6	3,82,25	1,50,00	1 10 0	—	—
"	13	4,50,00	1,50,00	1 7 0	—	—
"	20	3,89,00	1,48,25	1 4 10	—	—
"	27	4,20,50	1,50,00	1 3 0	—	—

O/D EXCHANGE RATES

	U. K. (Shillings per Re.)	France (Francs per Rs. 100)	U. S. A. (rupees per $100)	Japan (rupees per Y. 100)	Java (guilders per Rs. 100)	Germany (marks per Rs. 100)
January 6	1-6 6/32	638	394½	82	62¾	104
„ 13	1-6⅛	643	394½	83	62¾	104
„ 20	1-6⅛	642	396	83	62¾	104
„ 26	1-6⅛	650	390	83	63½	106½
February 3	1-6⅛	653	390	83½	63½	105
„ 10	1-6⅛	660	386	83	64¼	107½
„ 17	1-6⅛	657	385	81	64½	107
„ 24	1-6 3/32	647	388½	80	63⅝	106
March 3	1-6 3/32	648	383	80½	64½	106½
„ 10	1-5 31/32	647	—	84	64½	107
„ 17	1-5 31/32	647	385	85	64	106½
„ 24	1-6 1/32	643	389	84½	63⅝	106
„ 31	1-6 1/32	644	388½	84	63¾	106

RAILWAY RETURNS

Week ending		Earnings in lakhs of Rs	No of Wagons Loaded Broad Gauge	No of Wagons Loaded Metre Gauge
January	7	1,68	79,516	52,558
„	14	1,71	79,477	54,144
„	21	1,76	77,986	54,140
„	28	1,73	77,311	51,492
February	4	1,80	79,687	54,573
„	11	1,84	83,390	56,399
„	18	1,86	82,280	56,869
„	25	1,79	77,334	57,146
March	4	1,78	77,229	55,413
„	11	1,79	80,620	53,959
„	18	1,71	73,455	49,541
„	31 (13 days)	3,32	146,639	100,901
Total 1932-33		84,13	3,669,738	2,325,380

INDEX NUMBER OF WHOLESALE PRICES IN CALCUTTA.

Prices in July, 1914=100

	Jany 1929	Jany. 1930	Jany. 1931	Jany. 1932	Jany. 1933	Feb. 1933	March 1933
Cereals	131	111	83	76	66	66	61
Pulses	171	144	83	106	87	88	81
Sugar	162	143	126	146	134	131	127
Tea	165	128	112	61	62	74	70
Other Food Articles	156	159	115	109	94	90	86
Oil Seeds	149	160	84	81	78	74	65
Oil, Mustard	106	105	73	65	62	61	53
Jute, Raw	107	84	43	52	39	36	38
Jute Manufactures	139	97	77	82	71	68	68
Cotton, raw	153	112	80	103	87	79	79
Cotton Manufactures	163	150	127	124	113	113	112
Other Textiles (Wool and Silk)	140	113	65	77	58	62	58
Hides and Skins	116	106	83	55	61	56	54
Metals	126	122	112	113	103	92	92
Other raw and manufactured articles	139	134	102	100	97	97	94
Teakwood	149	154	154	138	127	124	124
All Commodities	145	131	98	97	88	86	82

INDIA'S FOREIGN SEA BORNE TRADE

	January, 1933	February, 1933 (in lakhs of Rupees)	March 1933
Imports of Private Merchandise	10,66	9,22	10,88
Exports of Indian Merchandise	11,44	12,24	12,35
Exports of Foreign Merchandise	28	21	31
Imports of Treasure	23	15	18
Exports of Treasure	4,85	5,05	5,07
Visible Balance of Trade	+5,72	+8,15	+6,71

CHIEF IMPORTS

COTTON PIECEGOODS

	January	1933 February (in lakhs of yds.)	March
Grey.			
United Kingdom	112	107	158
Japan	203	143	153
America	—	—	1
Other Countries	—	1	1
Total, 1933	315	251	313
„ 1932	238	262	177
„ 1931	290	149	240
White.			
United Kingdom	186	219	283
Other Countries	105	80	101
Total, 1933	291	299	386
„ 1932	245	201	314
„ 1931	168	164	260
Coloured, Printed or Dyed.			
United Kingdom	148	128	168
Continent	8	7	11
Japan	144	115	152
Other Countries	2	2	2
Total, 1933	302	252	333
„ 1932	227	169	240
„ 1931	162	144	173

SUGAR.

	January	1933 February (in 1,000 tons)	March
Java	24	12	27
Mauritius	—	—	—
Netherlands and Belgium	—	—	—
Other Countries	15	8	5
Total, 1933	39	20	32
„ 1932	46	44	50
„ 1931	68	124	53

MACHINERY AND MILL WORK.

	January	1933 February (in lakhs of Rs.)	March
United Kingdom	50	52	62
Continent	14	17	16
U. S. A.	10	6	6
Other Countries	—	1	1
Total, 1933	74	76	85
„ 1932	82	82	94
„ 1931	111	112	122

MANUFACTURED IRON & STEEL.

	January	1933 February (in tons)	March
United Kingdom	12,072	13,558	14,338
Continent	11,184	9,571	8,748
U S A	41	54	34
Other Countries	6,257	639	589
Total, 1933	29,554	23,822	23,709
1932	27,716	25,353	26,506
1931	50,876	44,192	45,964

CHIEF EXPORTS

RAW COTTON.

	January	1933 February (in 1,000 tons)	March
Japan	29	42	32
China	1	3	6
Europe	17	21	18
Other Countries	—	1	—
Total, 1933	47	67	56
„ 1932	30	29	30
„ 1931	78	77	78

JUTE, RAW

	January	1933 February (in 1,000 tons)	March
United Kingdom	20	15	11
Continent	32	24	27
North America	5	7	6
Other Countries	6	6	5
Total, 1933	63	52	49
„ 1932	44	22	30
„ 1931	69	50	51

JUTE BAGS, SACKINGS

	January	1933 February (in lakhs of bags)	March
United Kingdom	19	12	19
Continent	12	13	10
Far East	110	65	86
S Africa	4	12	17
N America	—	—	1
W Indies	38	15	6
S Africa	17	10	1
Australia and New Zealand	22	27	31
Other Countries	25	35	36
Total, 1933	247	189	207
„ 1932	233	241	213
„ 1931	224	203	213

JUTE CLOTH, HESSIANS

	January	1933 February (in lakhs of yds)	March
United Kingdom	47	60	56
N. America	482	518	475
S America	111	90	197
Australia	21	15	16
Other Countries	60	61	40
Total, 1933	721	744	784
„ 1932	749	750	649
„ 1931	867	667	642

HIDES AND SKINS

	Jan. 1933	Feb. 1933 (in tons)	March, 1933
Raw.			
Cow Hides	837	1,146	1,133
Buffalo Hides	124	170	·97
Goat Skins	1,191	1,393	1,481
Tanned.			
Sheep Skins	224	190	187
Goat Skins	216	230	219
Cow Hides	459	462	770
Buffalo Hides	27	24	40

TEA

	Jan. 1933	Feb. 1933 (in 1,000 lbs)	March, 1933
United Kingdom	24,258	14,210	10,472
North America	3,028	2,881	1,710
Iraq, Arabia and Persia	311	308	363
Australia and New Zealand	74	316	84
Ceylon	193	171	354
Egypt	64	374	256
Other Countries	800	1,080	440
Total, 1933	28,728	19,340	13,679
" 1932 ..	30,263	15,601	5,095
" 1931 .	26,583	17,193	8,738

RICE

	Jan. 1933	Feb. 1933 (in 1,000 tons)	March, 1933
United Kingdon	4	43	76
Continent	3	17	39
Persia, Arabia, Aden and Iraq	3	6	6
Ceylon	32	38	40
Straits Settlement and the Far East	20	45	70
East Africa (including Mauritius)	1	5	12
Other Countries	5	20	34
Total, 1933 ..	68	174	277
" 1932 .	168	241	357
" 1931 ..	146	146	264

PIG IRON.

	Jan. 1933	Feb. 1933 (in tons)	March, 1933
United Kingdom	2,775	7,243	8,033
Germany	398	490	—
Japan	3,750	11,624	11,285
U. S. A.	4,084	7,879	6,874
Other Countries	4,391	1,413	4,326
Total, 1933 ..	15,398	30,518	30,518
" 1932 .	36,684	33,923	33,293
" 1931 ..	10,892	27,785	27,785

OIL SEEDS

	Jan. 1933	Feb. 1933 (in 1,000 tons)	March, 1933
Linseed	5	6	5
Groundnut	62	58	37
Rape and Mustard	2	8	6
Sesamum	3	2	1
Castor Seed	7	3	8
Cotton Seed	—	1	1

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